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14

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GEORGE RIPLEY: UNITARIAN, TRANSCENDENTALIST, OR INFIDEL?

ARTHUR R. SCHULTZ and HENRY A. POCHMANN
University of Wisconsin

AMONG THE Transcendentalists grouped about Emerson, the more influential of those who made philosophy a major concern were Ripley, Parker, and Alcott, although lesser lights like Clarke and the Channings had their own spheres of influence. George Ripley, never as fiery an agitator in any cause as Theodore Parker, was nevertheless in the thick of the controversy that raged about Transcendentalism, Germanism, infidelity, and the attendant innovations that were debated during the first half of the nineteenth century. His position as manager of the Brook Farm Association for Education and Agriculture necessarily kept him in the public eye even after the termination of his rather mediocre ministerial career. Subsequently he forsook religious controversy, philosophical disputation, and social reform altogether for a humdrum but calm editorial career; but before he passed from the scene of activity, he had, both by what he said and by what he did, affected the lives of many of those who helped ferment and further the "Newness" between 1830 and 1850. In the determination of his course of thought and action, Germanic influences were admittedly of primary importance. The examination of these influences as determining factors in Ripley's career is the object of this essay, which resolves itself into three parts, according to Ripley's three major interests before his retirement: (1) Ripley as student and disseminator of Germanic thought, (2) Ripley as defender of German theology, and (3) Ripley as social reformer; that is, Germanic influences as affecting Ripley's career as (a) publicist, (b) preacher, and (c) farmer.

I

Under the tutelage of Frederic Henry Hedge, a pioneer among Americans in the study of German thought, Ripley early displayed a keen interest in German philosophy. Impressed even more than was Emerson at about the same time by the precept and example of Hedge, Everett, and Ticknor regarding the utility of studying in

Germany, Ripley would have devoted several years to residence at the German universities except that his lack of means forced him, like Emerson, "to foreswear Germany & go to the cheapest stall where education can be bought"[1]—the Harvard Divinity School. He took up ministerial duties as pastor in the meetinghouse at Purchase and Pearl streets in Boston. During the fourteen years of his service there he kept up his study of philosophy and theology, at the same time acquiring a fine library that included many German and French works.[2] His biographer lists the following: "much of Kant, Schleiermacher, Herder, DeWette, Cousin, Jouffroy; something of Hegel; Schopenhauer's 'Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung' (1819); the latest known volumes of Biblical criticism; Paulus, Bauer, Tholuck, Lücke, Bertholdt's 'Einleitung,' Winer's 'Handbuch der Theologischen Literatur,' " and a host of histories of philosophy, literary writings, and moral tracts.[3] This library, called "the finest of its kind in Boston,"[4] was large enough to be pledged as security for four hundred dollars in 1840, when Ripley was raising the money to organize the Brook Farm community. The failure of the farm was hardly a deeper loss for Ripley than the consequent loss of his library, though he drew some consolation from the fact that his beloved books went to Theodore Parker.

Throughout his ministerial career Ripley, as an eager young champion of the new liberal religion, published a series of articles, mainly reviews of German and French theological works, which were perhaps the most important source of information and interpretation during the early thirties of the new "spiritual" Christianity of the post-Kantians and the French eclectics. In his article entitled "Degerando on Self-Education" (1830) he strikes the keynote of that whole series which culminated in the papers of the Norton-Ripley controversy by making an earnest plea for a profounder appreciation of the inward truths of religion as revealed by intuition in preference to the doctrine of miraculous revelation. Like Coleridge, he depended to a great extent on the Cambridge Platonists;[5] but his attitude toward Coleridge himself is distinguished from that of his fellow-Transcendentalists by his being far less ready than they to indorse Coleridge's principles—mainly because he finds Coleridge too "obscure" on many points.[6] Instead, he professes to "look with the deepest interest mingled with cheerful hope, on the progress of the eclectic school in France, of which Cousin, Roger Collard, Jeoffroy [*sic*] and Degerando are distinguished representatives."[7] At the same time he recognizes the fact that the new religious and philosophical impulse that is converting his "age of superficial, sensuous philosophy" bears the mark "made in Germany," whence has "emanated more of the intellectual light on the deepest subjects of philosophic inquiry, than most writers in our language have yet been ready to acknowledge." Under its impulse "the best minds of France are awakening to more serious and elevated views of human nature," and he fervently hopes that Americans will follow the French example.[8]

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[1] See Ripley's letter of May 15, 1820, written from Harvard, quoted by O. B. Frothingham, *George Ripley* (Boston, 1882), pp. 9-10; see also *ibid.*, p. 17; and *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. R. L. Rusk (New York, 1939), I, 152.

[2] Frothingham, *Ripley*, p. 46.: "Some of his books were imported, but many of them were brought from abroad by a young American, who studied divinity at Cambridge, became an enthusiastic disciple of Dr. Spurzheim, went to Germany to study anatomy, lost his Christian faith, returned to America, bringing his library with him, and, while still comparatively young, died in Boston."

No attempt is made in this essay to evaluate French influences upon Ripley. However, the conclusion reached by W. L. Leighton, in his study of *French Philosophers and New England Transcendentalism* (Charlottesville, Va., 1908), p. 93, is applicable to Ripley as well as to the movement as a whole: ". . . the influence of French philosophy is, in proportion even to German influence alone, slight."

[3] Frothingham (*Ripley*, p. 46) lists the following individual authors: Bretschneider, Ammon, Reinhard, Ritter; Constant, Vico, Fichte, Cabanis, Eichhorn; "A few books now forgotten, about the origin of Christianity; a little of Goethe and Schiller, Luther's Werke, Baumgarten-Crusius; Heydenreich's 'Betrachtungen,' and 'Natur und Gott, nach Spinoza,' Wieland's 'Ueber Wunder,' Gfrörer's 'Giordano Bruno,' and miscellaneous works in morals and philosophy."

[4] H. S. Commager, *Theodore Parker* (Boston, 1936), p. 51.

The article on "Religion in France" (July, 1831)[9] reinforces this judgment on the significance of the new European movement. Though Hedge claims that he was almost the sole pioneer in the study and defense of German metaphysics and theology in this country before 1838, it is clear that Ripley was well read in the field by that date. His essay on Pestalozzi of January, 1832,[10] indicates that he is thoroughly familiar with the writings of Pestalozzi; while a

[5] *Christian Examiner,* IX, 70-107 (Sept., 1830). See also IX, 71.

[6] *Ibid.,* IX, 73.

[7] Ripley initiated his fourteen-volume series of "Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature" with his own *Philosophical Miscellanies, Translated from the French of Cousin, Jouffroy and Benjamin Constant* . . . by George Ripley (2 vols., Boston, 1838). Although the remaining twelve volumes in this distinguished series included only two more volumes from the French, the other ten being specimens of German literature and philosophy, Ripley's interest in French eclecticism was greater and somewhat longer sustained than was Emerson's, who early declared that he found in it "an optical illusion" (*Journals,* IV, 404, March 5, 1838).

[8] *Christian Examiner,* IX, 104 (Sept., 1830).

[9] *Christian Examiner,* X, 273-296.

[10] *Ibid.,* XI, 347-373.

few pages later, in the same number of the *Examiner,* his discussion of Carl Follen's inaugural at Harvard[11] is so replete with intelligent references to German literature and philosophy as to make untenable the assumption that his knowledge was superficial. He indicts the American college and university system for neglecting German literature, history, and philosophy, and recommends the cultivation and study of all branches of German scholarly and belletristic writing as being at once the most "profound" and the "most original."[12] He attacks as false the contention that the mastery of the language is difficult and as pusillanimous the prejudiced orthodox who consider the Germans as given "to mysticism, rhapsody, wild and tasteless inventions in poetry, and dark and impenetrable reasonings in metaphysics."[13] His defense of Kant is particularly vigorous:

> We often hear a summary and contemptuous decision on the merits of Kant—a writer and reasoner from whom the great questions, which man as an intellectual, accountable, and immortal being will never cease to ask of his own consciousness, have received more light than from any uninspired person, since the brightest days of Grecian philosophy,—which seems to us as fair and well-founded, as the decisions of a ship-master who knows only enough to work his reckoning, on the astronomy of Sir Isaac Newton.[14]

Ripley has considered the Coleridgean restatements of Kant as well as the tenets of the German philosopher himself. Contrary to general contemporary opinion, he finds their minds not at all alike, however well they agree on some important propositions.[15] And he denies the charge that German philosophy is irreligious by pointing to Tholuck as a staunch defender of Calvinism who will counterbalance the pantheistic tendencies of Schelling and Hegel.[16]

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[11] *Ibid.,* XI, 373-380. Follen was formally inaugurated as Professor of German Language and Literature in 1830, having served the preceding five years as Instructor in German and, in addition, during the last two, as instructor in ethics and ecclesiastical history in the Harvard Divinity School.

[12] "The literature of Germany has hitherto received comparatively little attention from the best educated scholars in this country. . . . Until within a recent period, the treatment of philosophy, poetry, history, and critical speculation, with which that remarkable literature is filled, have, for the most part, been sealed from foreign eyes. . . . [It is the] most profound, the most original, and the most various literature of modern Europe" (*ibid.,* XI, 373-374).

[13] *Ibid.,* XI, 374.

[14] *Ibid.,* XI, 374-375.

[15] *Ibid.,* XI, 375. While they are both advocates of the "great spiritual truths," Kant is "cool, far-reaching, austere," with "severe logic, imperturbable patience, mathematical precision, passionless exhibition of the results of pure reason," while Coleridge is "impassioned, bold, excursive," possessed by a "moody restlessness, feverish irritability, incoherent ramblings . . . bright flashes of imagination playing over the dark obscurity of his page, which . . . mask the philosopher struggling with the poet, and finally yielding the victory."

Neither in 1832 nor later did Ripley espouse any single philosophical system or attempt to rear, for himself or for others, a credo that was singly and solely philosophical. His effort was always to find an essentially spiritual, intuitional base for the higher truths of Christianity, divorced from dogmatic narrowness. Religion he defined as "a gift from heaven," and Christianity as a "divine communication to man." He constantly called Christ "Saviour" and spoke of him as "the highest of all the soul's prophets"—though as synonymous with Moral Truth rather than with Divinity.[17] "All that was human in the Son of the Virgin . . . was swallowed up, and, as it were, annihilated in the fullness of the Spirit which dwelt in him." Christ he held to be human, but God he viewed as a personal Divinity; and at one of the meetings of the Transcendental Club, in February, 1838, he is recorded as having taken exception to the impersonal conception of God put forth by Emerson.[18] A curious combination of detached thinker and zealous Christian reformer, he had none of the pedantry or vanity of the recluse scholar, but used his library to find support and guidance toward that purer religion which he envisioned. For example, his discussion of Mackintosh's book on ethical philosophy[19] is an incisive and fair commentary not visibly affected by his own predilection for Kant and Coleridge.

The article of May, 1835, on Marsh's translation of Herder's *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* is indicative at once of his great admiration for Herder[20] and his appreciation and defense of German literature and theological writing,[21] as well as of his command of the German language. He shows himself competent in pointing out minute errors of translation in Marsh's book and in making penetrating criticisms of Marsh's rendition of the text.

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[16] *Ibid.*, XI, 376-378.

[17] Frothingham, *Ripley*, pp. 49-50.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 56.

[19] *Christian Examiner*, XIII, 311-332 (Jan., 1833).

[20] *Christian Examiner*, XVIII, 169 (May, 1835). After quoting Mme. de Staël, he writes this eulogy: "[Herder has] freshness, a gushing enthusiasm . . . charm. . . . Everything is in motion, everything has life, he is never languid. . . . [He is] a pure noble spirit. . . . Such fervent love of man, such deep sympathy with Christ, such filial and noble conceptions of the Great Father of all, are rarely united in any character; and these are so distinctly impressed on the whole face of his writings, that, in reading them, we feel that we are enjoying the intimate communion of an exalted and holy mind" (*ibid.*, XVIII, 169).

[21] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 167-168. "Though German literature is beginning to receive its due share of attention, German theology is still less well known than it should be among English-speaking peoples, and especially in England."

Although Herder hardly made a beginning at constructing a positive critical and metaphysical basis for idealism, he appealed to Ripley because he expressed with poetic fervor the spirit of the modern intuitional school. "He formed [says Ripley] a connecting link between the old school of Lutheran orthodoxy and the modern school of Rational divines. The progress of his own mind seems, in some degree, to mark the progress of theological opinion; and in his voluminous writings may be found the germ of most of the important thoughts which have since produced such a mighty revolution in the prevalent conception of religion."[22] That these primal religious tenets of Herder (and Schleiermacher) were of some influence in shaping Ripley's own thought is not to be doubted, for, like his German preceptors, he sought an intuitive basis for religion. Though he admired Kant, he felt that Kant's system left too little room for the irrational and supernatural. Herder agreed better with his own predilections than could Kant. His desire, however, to preserve part of the irrational domain of religion did not prevent his enthusiastic championship of German historical and philosophical study of the Scriptures. This interest is traceable directly to Herder and Schleiermacher. His opinion of the latter he repeated to Theodore Parker as late as 1852: "I regard Schleiermacher as the greatest thinker who ever undertook to fathom the philosophy of religion."[23]

Ripley prefixed a sketch of the history of religious thought in Germany to his second article on Herder (November, 1835).[24] Here he placed Herder squarely in the new tradition of Biblical criticism combined with profound spiritual fervor and piety. He identified Herder with those who assert the efficacy of continual immanent revelation as opposed to a literalist's strict dependence on the holy word. History, he pointed out, was to Herder the account of the spiritual development of man.[25] In his article of March, 1836, on the theological writings of Gieseler, Lücke, Nitzsch, and the memoirs of Schleiermacher, Ripley again revealed his sympathy with those who wanted to "save the validity of religion against science"[26] and to "make a harmony between philosophy and theology" by putting the emphasis "on the religious consciousness of human nature." In the same year he embodied this point of view in a simple and persuasive pamphet, *Discourses on the Philosophy of Religion, Addressed to Doubters Who Wish to Believe,*[27] and in a review of Martineau's *Rationale of Religious Enquiry* he wrote an impassioned and moving plea for the development of a truly spiritual religious science.[28] What this science of divinity ought to be is defined more closely in his introduction to the translation of Professor Ullmann's *Theological Aphorisms,* printed in the *Examiner* for January, 1837.[29] Here he asserts his allegiance to Herder, Schleiermacher, and De-Wette.

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[22] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 171-172. Again Ripley states well the aims of Herder as distinguished from those of later metaphysical and theological thinkers: "He wished to bring the conviction of . . . the truth [of spiritual religion] to the individual consciousness of man, instead of resting it merely on the ground of tradition and authority; and this he believed could be done only by appealing to its inward character, and demonstrating its accordance with our better nature" (*ibid.*, XVIII, 197).

[23] Frothingham, *Ripley*, p. 229.

[24] "Herder's Theological Opinion and Services," *Christian Examiner*, XIX, 172-204 (Nov., 1835); see esp. pp. 172-176.

[25] Ripley is cautious to point out that he does not support Herder *in toto*, but that he is nevertheless in substantial agreement with Herder on the subjects of revelation and the func-

> The direction which is indicated in these "Aphorisms" of Professor Ullmann, it will be perceived, is equally removed from the lifeless Supernaturalism of a past age, and from the shallow Rationalism with which later theologians have endeavored to supplant it. It is essentially the same movement with that which was commenced by Herder, continued by Schleiermacher and DeWette, and which is now sustained by a powerful host of the most active intellects among the scholars of Germany, and which will terminate, we cannot doubt, in the production of a higher life, of more consummate beauty, and of more divine energy, in religion, theology, and society.[30]

Thus Ripley was acquiring during the thirties the knowledge and facility to use that knowledge in the controversy with Norton and entrenched Unitarianism that was to come.[31] Thus far his opin-

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tion of religious teaching. He tends to support Herder also in his adverse criticism of Kant, though he sees that Herder was unable to appreciate Kant's good qualities: "It is much to the credit of Herder's acuteness,—the result in him of an instinctive feeling rather than of an intellectual perception,—that, at the time when this system [Kant's] was held up as a new and infallible revelation, which none but shallow thinkers could doubt, he pointed out its defects, and contended against its influence, on the same grounds on which it has since been successfully attacked, and though not destroyed, since it contains too much important truth to die, made to lower its pretensions, and assume a more modest rank" (*ibid.,* XIX, 209).

[26] "Schleiermacher as Theologian," *Christian Examiner,* XX, 1-46 (March, 1836), esp. p. 4.

[27] Boston: Munroe, 1836. 80 pp.

[28] *Christian Examiner,* XXI, 226-254 (Nov., 1836).

[29] *Christian Examiner,* XXI, 385-398.

[30] *Ibid.,* XXI, 385-386.

[31] Meanwhile he was opening up yet another avenue by which European ideas were to gain currency in America, for in 1838 he published the first of his series of translations, the

ions, derived though they were from Germany, escaped the charge of heresy; and his championship of German philosophy and theology aroused no great animosity. Thus far he had done no more than exercise the right which every Unitarian minister asserted—to make free inquiry into the Scriptures, even when such inquiry led to keeping company with suspect persons like the German critics. It was only after Emerson attacked the citadel of Unitarian orthodoxy itself and Ripley rushed to his defense against Norton that his Unitarianism became odious. Thereafter he was put down as a Transcendentalist. After 1840, when he resigned from the Unitarian Association, quit the pulpit, turned to farming, and later, to editorial work, the Defenders of the Faith lost interest in him. However, between the time of Emerson's *Divinity School Address* (1838) and Parker's sermon on *The Transient and Permanent in Christianity* (1841), he was as lustily belabored as ever was Emerson or Parker.

II

The Norton-Ripley controversy was a natural and inevitable culmination of events that can be traced backward a century or more, and that had been coming to a head during the two decades immediately preceding.[32] It was a peculiar compound of native critical developments, scientific influences, and German importations, which, as they progressed, first under the banner of Unitarianism and afterwards under the auspices of Transcendentalism, brought upon the Unitarians the uncomfortable accusation that theirs was "a half-way house to infidelity," and that Unitarianism was merely a temporary stage in the decline from true religion to infidelity.[33] The orthodox pointed the finger of scorn not only at

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Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature. In the fourteen volumes actually published between 1838 and 1842, the French Cousin, Constant, and Jouffroy and the Germans Goethe, Schiller, Uhland, Körner, Bürger, Menzel, and DeWette were brought before the public in competent translations by such writers as John S. Dwight, Margaret Fuller, C. C. Felton, Samuel Osgood, James F. Clarke, and himself.

[32] For details, including excellent bibliographical notes, see Professor C. H. Faust's essay on "The Backgrounds of the Unitarian Opposition to Transcendentalism," *Modern Philology,* XXXV, 297-324 (Feb., 1938).

[33] *Ibid.,* pp. 300-305.

Some of the Defenders of the Faith were quite confident in their prophecies that these scorners of revelation and exalters of reason would soon take the same course that the German rationalists had taken, and go "at last full length with the most liberal of them all." Thus Moses Stuart of Andover, himself a pioneer in America in the use of the grammatical interpretation of the Scriptures as promulgated by the Germans, nevertheless told the world, with more heat than logic, that the Unitarians, reasoning as they did, "must the Transcendentalists but equally at the Unitarians for having harbored such a brood; while the Unitarians, attacked on both sides, were at a loss to know whether to defend themselves against the one or the other, or both at once.

The three chief apostates, by their own confession in articles, sermons, and addresses, were Emerson, Ripley, and Parker. Their defection seemed to the Unitarians nothing less than treachery within their own ranks. Besides finding themselves in a dilemma that seemed of their own making, the Unitarians were confronted with the necessity of making a hard choice: to continue association with men like Ripley and Parker was to lend confirmation to the old, now vociferously renewed, charge by the orthodox that Unitarianism was, as they had always foretold, merely the portal to infidelity and complete skepticism; to expel them was to abandon the principles of free inquiry and an "open house," principles for which they had long fought, and which they still cherished.[34]

Emerson's "infidelity" (or "atheism") was not easily related to specific sources. To be sure, he had kept several terms in the Harvard Divinity School, but he had also traveled to Europe specifically to learn at first hand the questionable principles of Coleridge and Carlyle. Clearly Harvard might wash her hands of any responsibility for Emerson's opinions. What was more, Emerson's resignation, six years before he delivered his offensive address to the divinity class at Harvard in 1838, had put him effectively beyond the reach of Unitarians and Calvinists alike. Both parties could damn him roundly, but obviously no one need assume any responsibility for a man who had unfrocked himself and who had, by his own confession, left the church with a yawn.

Parker's case was different. His opinions seemed clearly traceable to his Unitarian training under Andrews Norton of Harvard, under whom he had studied as late as 1834-1836. So said many. So said

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necessarily . . . come to the same conclusions with Eichhorn, and Paulus, and Henke, and Eckermann, and Herder, and other distinguished men of the new German school." If, in a few years, the Unitarian tendency would not produce "the undisguised avowal of German divinity in all its latitude," said Stuart, he was prepared to swallow his own words (*Miscellanies*, pp. 182-188).

[34] After Parker's sermon on *The Transient and Permanent in Christianity*, it was seriously urged, to escape the difficult choice and to remove the odium of Parker's attachment to Unitarianism, that the Association should be dissolved. In the end, the majority took the less strenuous, if less logical, course: the Association was not dissolved, and Parker was not expelled, but he was vigorously denounced; while the refusal of his colleagues to exchange pulpits with him made their action virtual, if not actual, expulsion.

Noah Porter, recently elected Professor of Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy at Yale College, who in summing up the whole ugly business, asked pointedly: "Where learned Mr. Parker his philosophical system? Where did he discover that man himself might be so inspired, that his God could give him no added inspiration? . . . Mr. Norton will start up with his accustomed promptness, and reply: 'Not from me—not from me!' "[35]

Small wonder, therefore, that Norton should endeavor to anticipate the charges and try to defend Unitarianism *and* himself by shifting the blame to the German metaphysicians, or to the adoption, on the part of addlepates like Emerson and Parker, of every latest heresy issuing from the cells of the theological and philosophical professors of Germany. The "latest form of infidelity," he took care to say with great emphasis, in his pamphlet by that title (1838), was bred in Germany, not at Harvard; Kant was responsible, not Norton.

But Norton's pamphlet turned out to be a boomerang. Far from clarifying the issues, it served only to set the stage for the entrance of the third of the renegades. George Ripley, another of Norton's erstwhile fledglings, had been suspected of mild apostasy since 1830 when his articles on Coleridge, the French eclectics, and the German transcendental theologians had begun to appear in the *Examiner*. Now that Ripley came to the defense of Emerson with a reply to Norton, entitled *"The Latest Form of Infidelity" Examined* (1839), there was left no room for further doubt; and when the controversy thus provoked ran through a series of replies and counterblasts, Ripley, refusing to yield to Norton the last word, was put down by all right-thinking Unitarians as one of the chief of the inglorious fallen.

The heated controversy added nothing essentially new or significant to the arguments up for debate, and the result was virtually a stalemate. So far as Ripley was concerned, it yielded nothing to his understanding of German thought or to his solution of the problems involved; neither did it add to his stature either as a philosopher or as a theologian. Indeed, Parker felt that "Pope" Norton's "steel-cold intelligence" was driving Ripley into a position which made it hard to make out a case for the Germans as believers in a personal

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[35] "Theodore Parker and Liberal Christianity," *New Englander*, II, 553-556 (Oct., 1844).

God and immortality or of the trustworthiness of Herder, Schleiermacher, and DeWette as guides in Biblical studies. The situation, he said, called for "a higher word,"[36] and he prepared to say it in *The Previous Question between Mr. Andrews Norton and His Alumni Moved and Handled in a Letter to All Those Gentlemen,* by Levi Blodgett (Boston, 1840). In it he reached the conclusion which, as Noah Porter observed, marked Parker as "a consistent and logical thinker [who] . . . has carried them [the principles and modes of thinking peculiar to liberal Christians of the Germanic persuasion] to no unnatural conclusions."[37]

Parker's impatience with halfway measures led him to shift the argument to a broader base by asserting that neither Christ's divinity nor the authenticity of miracles was necessary to true religion. For all he cared, all might go by the board—Old Testament, New Testament, miracles, ordinances, and formularies. Planting himself on the ground that man has a spiritual nature endowed with original capacity to apprehend primary religious truth directly, without mediation of sacrament, creed, or Bible, he stood outside and above the controversy, while his enemies declared he had "done Transcendentalism up."

Needless to say, Parker's position went beyond that which Ripley was prepared to embrace, though, like Parker, he found himself far from done with Transcendentalism or theological controversy. In the transition from Unitarian to Transcendental theology, Ripley occupies a position approximately midway. He was more the son of Channing than the brother of Parker. Unable, on the one hand, to proceed with the rigor of Kantian logic, and unwilling, on the other, to lose himself in Alcottian mysteries, he was poorly equipped for theology, however good a religionist he may have been. He went too far to please the Unitarians, and he did not go far enough to satisfy the Transcendentalists. His association with the Transcendentalists and his management of Brook Farm kept him for some years more in the midst of the theological and philosophical squabbles of the times, but it was not by choice. If he had had his way, he would have given up theorizing altogether. The resignation of his ministerial charge in 1840 and his assumption of the managership of the Brook Farm community immediately thereafter are indicative at once of his dissatisfaction with speculation and controversy and the recognition that his abilities in both fields were mediocre and of his resolution to turn from theory to practice. If, in 1840, he applied to himself what Emerson was just then saying about the Knower, Sayer, and Doer, he may have considered that he had by now passed, not entirely satisfactorily to himself, through the phases of life designated, in Emersonian terms, as Knower and Sayer, and that he was ready next to try being the Doer.

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[36] O. B. Frothingham, *Theodore Parker* (Boston, 1874), p. 114.

[37] "Theodore Parker and Liberal Christianity," *New Englander,* II, 356 (Oct., 1844).

While the year 1840 was a climactic one in Ripley's career, his resolution to give up preaching and to set about organizing Brook Farm was not reached overnight. Nor did his withdrawal from the ministry effect an immediate slackening of interest in religious matters or a complete break with theological concerns. Impassioned and full of strong religious conviction though he was, the truth is that Ripley had little gift for pulpit oratory. This inability appears to have been one of the basic causes why his congregation, in the course of his fourteen years among them, lost many of its members, although the general deterioration of that part of the city was certainly a contributing factor. Even more important was the rift between his thinking and that of his parishioners—all set down, as Ripley himself says, with "great plainness of speech"[38] in the second of the three letters which he addressed to his congregation during 1840. As in Emerson's experience eight years earlier, "a profound feeling of incompatibility"[39] had grown up between the pastor and his flock. As in Emerson's case, too, Ripley set forth his position, not in a farewell sermon, but in a formal letter of thirty printed pages,[40] that made his avowal of "the principles of Transcendental Philosophy" so frank and plain that there was but one possible termination. Ripley's offered resignation was accepted three months later.[41] The letter makes abundantly obvious that his studies in the principles of transcendental religion as developed by Herder, Schleiermacher, and DeWette—"now taught," says Ripley, "in every Protestant university on the Continent of Europe . . . [as] the common creed of the most enlightened nations"[42]—supplied the fundamental reason why he preferred to resign his pulpit rather than continue to occupy it under the restraint of being prevented, by congregational opinion, from freely declaring and preaching those principles. Like Emerson, he left the church feeling that as a minister he had failed; unlike Emerson, he never, in any form, resumed the ministry, or re-entered the pulpit. But he was not therefore unconcerned about religion or about the ministerial profession.[43] Among the first things he wrote after his release from the ministry was his "Letter to a Theological Student," published in the second number of the *Dial*. In it he exhorted the young probationer to attend faithfully to the new methods and teachings and to follow Herder above all others for spiritual guidance.

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[38] Frothingham, *Ripley*, p. 80.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[40] Reproduced, *ibid.*, pp. 61-91.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

> If you read German, let me recommend to you "Herder's Letters on the Study of Theology." You will find them a fruitful source of noble and glorious thoughts; and you can never read them without feeling your heart elevated and made better, though they may not impart much positive and exact instruction. If you do not read German, the perusal of that book alone, would repay you for the six months' study it would cost to acquire the language.[44]

Ripley's papers, contributed to the Norton-Ripley controversy, while they do not add anything to the record of his influence by German thought, as it can be read in his earlier essays and reviews, are a neat summation of how his Unitarian theology was modified into a mild form of transcendental religion by the German theologians. Never willing to follow them to a purely scientific interpretation of the Scriptures, such as Strauss for example reached, he nevertheless borrowed from them the tools which enabled him fearlessly, candidly, and expertly to handle a limited phase of the argument provoked by Norton. These letters also demonstrate, more succinctly than do any of his other writings, that he remained a confirmed believer in German idealism and the German method of Biblical criticism. He found his faith strengthened instead of weakened by his German studies, and though he never credited himself or any other theorist with having found strict philosophical confirmation for religious "truths," he confidently believed that he had shifted the arguments from Christianity to a firmer, because more practical, basis than that upon which they had rested before.

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[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 84-87; see also pp. 67-74.

[44] *Dial*, I, 187 (Oct., 1840).

III

Ripley's strong sense for the need of social reform, or what he termed "the practice of religion," was not a sudden inspiration that came to him about the time of the agitation for the Brook Farm experiment. As early as 1832, in one of his articles in the *Christian Examiner,* he paid tribute to the achievements of Pestalozzi as a pioneer in the realm of social reform as well as a practitioner in education. Ripley was well acquainted with the Neuhof experiment a full eight years before he organized Brook Farm, where were combined Yankee agricultural methods with larger portions of Pestalozzian educational methods than are generally recognized. He underwrote Pestalozzi's manner of teaching as "a return to the dictates of nature and good sense,"[45] and expressed the hope that the Pestalozzian revolution might have far-reaching effects. "It is to the extension of these principles,—which we regard as the great principles of human nature, under whatever form they are displayed, or by whatever name they are called,—that we look for great and beneficial changes in society." Writing in 1832, Ripley was not espousing any thoroughgoing socialism; he was arguing, on a simple humanitarian ground, for the greater benefits to come to the lower classes from society by means of a better education.[46] When the Brook Farm Institute for Education and Agriculture was formed, the articles of incorporation combined specific stipulations regarding education, agriculture, and common business principles;[47] but there was not a breath about "socialism" in the then accepted sense of the word, or of "communism." Little effort was made to win proselytes, and there was no thought of setting up an international organization. George Ripley was not one to agree with his wife Sarah—somewhat more volatile than himself—when on one occasion she rebuked Theodore Parker for not "shrieking at wrongs," though, like her, he did not want to lose "humanity in abstractions."[48] Farmer Ripley was no visionary, either in his management of the affairs of the Farm or in his educational theories. But he did insist that it were well for all American teachers to study the philosophical bases of their educational procedure with the view to square their aims with social objectives. He interpreted the system of Pestalozzi not as a means of the sudden regeneration of mankind but as a step toward the amelioration of social conditions for the lower classes. He saw "as the key-stone of the system the important truth . . . that the amelioration of outward circumstances will be the *effect,* but can never be the *means* of mental and moral improvement." True progress, he saw, with Emerson, as inward progress; but he urged "more attention . . . to the philosophy of the system, so that teachers should not flatter themselves that they have caught the spirit, when they only imitate some of its mechanical details."[49]

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[45] *Christian Examiner,* XI, 372 (Jan., 1832).

[46] On May 20, 1840, on the eve of the Brook Farm experiment, his sermon, preached at the ordination of J. S. Dwight at Northampton, defined "the true work of the evangelist at the present day" as simply bringing "the religion of society into accordance with the religion of Christ" (Frothingham, *Ripley,* p. 52).

[47] Reproduced, *ibid.,* pp. 112-117.

[48] *Ibid.,* p. 111.

It was Ripley's strongly idealistic turn of mind, his faith in practical Christianity or what was synonymous with it in his mind, socialized religion, not at all his personal interest, that led him to turn all his energies toward the organization of Brook Farm,[50] even to sacrificing his personal feelings in pushing the enterprise. "His aspiration was to bring about a truer state of society, one on which human beings should stand in frank relations of true equality and fraternity, mutually helpful, respecting each other's occupation, and making one the helper of the other."[51] That the tenets of Christian idealism could impel a man like Ripley to experiment with the practical reformation of society is attested in his own words in the *Harbinger.*[52] In 1846, writing an article on Fichte, he described explicitly the easy transition in his mind from the position of a religionist to that of a practical reformer:

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[49] *Christian Examiner,* XI, 355, 372 (Jan., 1832).

[50] Lindsay Swift, in his book on *Brook Farm* (New York, 1908), pp. 130-131, suggests that the influence of Hedge as a proponent of Schelling's idealism was a strong determining factor. "It is probable that he was swayed by the talk and the writing of Dr. Hedge. The latter had been one of his revered instructors in the Divinity School, and had published in the *Christian Examiner* of March, 1833, an article on Coleridge, which recorded the great results flowing from the spread of Schelling's thought, already turned into this channel. It would be impossible, though interesting, to trace the growth of the Brook Farm scheme in his mind."

The personal interest of William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, and others went far to determine Ripley in taking this step, but the article by Hedge alone cannot have been of great significance, for even before this time Ripley himself had read Coleridge and Pestalozzi besides.

[51] *Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight,* ed. George W. Cooke (New York, 1898), p. 45.

[52] The example of Fourieristic disciples in Europe was not left unnoticed by the Brook Farmers. The *Harbinger* for April 4, 1846, contains an article by Ripley on "The Religious Movement in Germany," in praise of the "social character" of the movement commenced by Ronge in Germany (II, esp. 190-191, April 4, 1846).

> The study of German philosophy is more attractive in an historical point of view than for the positive, scientific results to which it has arrived. . . . It has failed to solve the mighty problems of Divine Providence and Human Destiny. . . . It presents nothing to the scientific inquirer . . . [except] cautions against error . . . and noble aspirations after the spiritual dignity and excellence, which are the highest good of the human soul.
>
> The ultimate tendency of . . . [Fichte's] philosophy is to enkindle a holy enthusiasm for the progress of man toward the fulfilment of his earthly destiny. The exercise of the pure intellect leads only to scepticism and despair; the last result of the Infinite can never be fathomed by the finite understanding; the last result of thought is to throw man back on his own soul, and to deprive him of proof of the existence of aught else. But the nature of man comprises higher elements than the power of abstract thought. His most important convictions are not the fruit of speculation. He lives also in a world of moral emotions and ideas. He finds within the depths of his own soul an instinctive sense of justice, duty, universal harmony and unity. An interior voice calls upon him to shape his life in accordance with these principles. Hence, the world presents him a field of moral action; and to realise these truths in all material relations is the earthly destiny of man. The transition is not difficult from these views, to the doctrine of social harmony as set forth in the writings of Fourier. And to the philosophic mind, the study of Fichte, in his most remote abstractions, is an admirable preparation for the broader and more commanding syntheses of the great expounder of social sciences.[53]

These passages were written after the best days of Brook Farm were already over. They are significant not only as pointing to Ripley's drift away from theoretical theology and speculative philosophy and toward social reform but also as indicating that except for Fichte, whose practical tendency he admired, he had grown dissatisfied with the extreme abstraction of the German metaphysicians. They are indicative also of a certain disillusionment, possibly with such efforts at social reform as had been tried at Brook Farm, certainly with some of the philosophical theories that had prompted these reforms. In a review of Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany* (1847) he asked concerning purely "philosophical speculation" and mere "literary culture" as illustrated in portions of that book, "to what does it amount?"[54] A scholar might take pleasure, he wrote about the same time, in the "remarkable thought processes" of Hegel and of Schelling, the "great intellectual analyses" of Kant, or

[53] *Harbinger*, II, 297 (April 18, 1846).

[54] *Ibid.*, VI, 107 (Feb. 5, 1848).

the "subtle speculations of the Oriental philosophers," but for him they come to be merely "intellectual gymnastics"—"airy nothings."[55]

In the end he turned even upon his beloved Schleiermacher, not, it may be presumed, because he came to consider him false, but simply because he came to view the abstruse speculations of transcendental theologians and metaphysicians alike as relatively inconsequential. Urged by Parker to publish a translation which Ripley had made earlier of one of Schleiermacher's works, he replied, January 31, 1852, that he would not (1) because no one would read the work, and (2) because he had lost all "immediate interest in that line of speculation."[56]

This disillusionment with speculative philosophy in general and with German metaphysics in particular was no sudden development. It will be recalled that Brook Farm, where Ripley was the guiding resident spirit, was abreast of Boston in the interest in German thought and literature, and well ahead of any community in the country in the appreciation of German music. Ripley's library was of course at hand in the "Eyrie" for all who cared to read. The *Harbinger,* under his editorship, contained many reviews of German books, translations of German poetry, and Dwight's column devoted to music, including long discussions of German music.[57] Ripley himself taught Spinoza and Kant in the school at Brook Farm. Nowhere on the American continent was there a more concentrated effort to absorb German art and thought; but as the debts mounted, and as the course of Brook Farm moved steadily downward, Ripley had cause to reflect upon the efficacy of transcendental philosophy to solve the practical problems of living. The failure of the enterprise swallowed up everything he possessed, including his library. He had literally given his all, and it had availed him nothing. When he moved to New York to begin life anew, in his forty-seventh year, he broke off all associations with Boston Transcendentalism.

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[55] "They do not profess to be founded on ascertained facts; they can retain no permanent interest for the sincere and unsophisticated lover of reality. The attempt to explain the universe or the human soul by the mere force of thought, without the scientific analysis of facts, is as absurd as the attempt to leap over one's own head" (Ripley's review of J. B. Stallo's *General Principles of the Philosophy of Nature,* Boston, 1848, in *Harbinger,* VI, 110, Feb. 5, 1848).

[56] MS in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, quoted by Professor Clarence Gohdes in *The Periodicals of American Transcendentalism* (Durham, N. C., 1931), p. 120.

[57] Among the items contained in the *Harbinger* that are indicative of the interest at Brook Farm in German culture are the following (the list is necessarily incomplete because half of the published text of the journal is not available): reviews of Goethe's *Autobiography,* reviewed by J. S. Dwight, in II, 127; of Edward Holmes's *Life of Mozart* (New York, 1846), by Dwight, in II, 124; of Kohl's *Travels in England and Wales* (Philadelphia, 1846), in II, 17, 266; of H. S. Legaré's *Writings,* including his "Journal of the Rhine" (2 vols., Charleston, S. C., and Boston, 1846), in II, 332; of Schiller's *History of the Thirty Years War,* as translated by Morrison, in III, 378; translations from German poetry: "Patience" from the German of Spitta, in II, 124; "Spring is Coming," translated by J. S. Dwight, in II, 189; Heine's "Question," translated by C. A. Dana, in II, 299; Rückert's "Cradle Song," translated by T. W. Higginson, in III, 59; Goethe's "To Peace" *("Wanderers Sturmlied"),* translated by W. H. Story, in IV, 58; Schiller's "The Artists" (part of *Das Lied von der Glocke*), in IV, 128; Goethe's "Dithyrambic," in IV, 314; and Goethe's "Metamorphosis of Plants," in IV, 347. Volumes II and III are especially rich in essays on German music, including Handel, Mendelssohn, and Beethoven.

During his last years, as assistant editor of the New York *Tribune,* reader for *Harper's,* and contributor to numerous magazines, Ripley left the fields of theological and philosophical controversy far behind him. The record of his activity during that time is relatively sparse and shows no further development either in his knowledge of German thought[58] or in his thinking generally. In 1866 he and his second wife made a long-deferred trip to Europe, which occasion they improved to visit relatives of Mrs. Ripley's in Germany. The visit was repeated and greatly extended in 1869. While he entered with much enthusiasm upon the tours that led him to all the places for which his youth had yearned, the opportunities came too late to leave any more visible impressions upon him than such as can be read in the travel sketches which he sent back to the *Tribune.* The rest of his life was devoted to journalistic work and the making of encyclopedias.

Ripley's mental growth ended with the period of Brook Farm. The principles for which he had striven appeared to be defeated. The socialization of Christianity as Herder, Schleiermacher, and Ronge had promulgated it, and as he had sought to propagate it, had failed. His own ambitions as a minister had come to naught when, after fourteen years of steady endeavor, both his matter and his manner had failed to satisfy his parishioners. It seems clear, too, that not the least important result of his long theological career was the melancholy conclusion that his own theology was unsatisfactory to himself. Convinced though he was that his efforts as the editor of the French eclectics, his numerous essays on German theologians, and his letters to Andrews Norton had helped to shift the bases of Christianity to firmer ground than that upon which they had rested, they were not, after all, secure enough. Unable to subscribe to a thoroughgoing rationalism and unwilling to follow completely a "transcendent" mysticism, he tried to find a ground midway between the two in "the inward truths of religion as revealed by intuition," only to find that the "truths" still escaped him. Like Emerson, he found theology "from everlasting to everlasting debatable ground"; like Emerson, too, he gave up the profession of the theologian, for, steering a middle course as he tried to, between two extremes, he satisfied neither, least of all himself. About all that can be said is that he was never between 1820 and 1850 a Unitarian of Norton's kind nor a Transcendentalist of Parker's sort. Nor was he then or afterwards an infidel. After abandoning the religious beliefs of his transcendental period, he never returned to them, never deplored their absence; and on his deathbed, if he could have had his way, he would have had in attendance neither a Unitarian nor a Transcendental minister but Father Hecker. Except Orestes A. Brownson, none of the Transcendentalists illustrates better than Ripley the difficulty which beset the Emersonian idealists who sought, like their master, to find in German philosophy the means to square their heart by their head—to make their religion philosophical and their philosophy religious. Ripley's failure was no greater than that of many another, more richly endowed than he, who found it equally impossible to reconcile belief with knowledge.

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[58] He continued to write about the Germans whom he had studied in his younger days; he did some book reviews of German authors who were new to him. He spoke once of an article on Goethe, published in some newspaper, as being "well done," because it reflected a lifelong study of the subject. In *Putnam's Monthly* for Nov., 1856 (VIII, 517-527) appeared a biographical sketch, based on Alfred M. Meissner's *Heinrich Heine: Erinnerungen* (Hamburg, 1856), of Heine's last years. The rest appears to be inconsequential.

THE STORIES OF WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS

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WHEN William Gilmore Simms died in 1870, an important American literary career came to an end. During Simms's long and busy life he published nineteen volumes of poetry, twenty-eight novels, two volumes of drama, four volumes of reviews, three histories, a geography of South Carolina, besides many articles, addresses, compilations, book reviews, editorials, and journalistic contributions of all kinds.[1] These works, added to a large body of personal correspondence, show that Simms was an extraordinarily prolific professional man of letters.

Much is now known of Simms's work as an editor, as a Southern poet, and as a novelist; but that he was also the author of many short stories is not generally known. Many readers are familiar with one or two of Simms's short stories—"Grayling," perhaps, or "Sharp Snaffles"—and a few readers have read the thirteen stories in *The Wigwam and the Cabin;* but these represent only a small part of the canon of his stories. He wrote at least fifty-nine stories, a considerable number for a pioneer writer working in the period before the American short story achieved a recognized position as a literary form.

All collections of Simms's stories are out of print, and several of them are now extremely rare. Many of his uncollected stories are hard to locate because the magazines and annuals in which they appeared are widely scattered throughout American libraries. Though Simms wrote some very good stories, and though he produced almost as many stories and tales as did his gifted friend and contemporary, Edgar Allan Poe, his unique and significant contribution to American literature has been overlooked because reliable information about his stories is very difficult to obtain.

Most of the fifty-nine stories known to be Simms's work appeared in periodicals prior to their collection and later publication in printed volumes.[2] Literary annuals and gift books also published stories by Simms.[3]

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[1] See *The Sack and Destruction of the City of Columbia, S. C.*, ed. Alexander S. Salley (Oglethorpe University Press, 1937). In Mr. Salley's excellent introduction there is much information, biographical and bibliographical, that is worthy of scholarly consideration. See also his articles in the *News and Courier* (Charleston, S. C.), Aug. 27, 1899, p. 10, and in the *State* (Columbia, S. C.), Jan. 25, 1920.

Simms collected many of his stories and published them in book form. Seven of his collections exist today.[4]

All bibliographies of Simms's stories are at present incomplete. There is no printed bibliography that contains enough stories to indicate the real volume of his work in this field.

Trent's bibliography lists collections of stories and a few scattered individual stories, but it is of small value to a student interested in the study of Simms's stories.[5] Johnson's bibliography is better; he relies on Trent for several items, but he lists stories not mentioned by Trent.[6] Beale relies on Trent and Johnson for some of the information in his bibliography but goes further than his predecessors, listing stories not given by Trent and Johnson.[7]

The bibliographies by Salley[8] and Wegelin[9] have been restricted largely to printed volumes; they have not included Simms's contributions to periodicals. Jessup lists a number of stories not included in the other bibliographies, but he does not give volume and page references.[10] Ina Ten Eyck Firkins's *Index to Short Stories* lists thirty-two stories correctly, but it needs to be revised so that certain outstanding errors may be eliminated.[11]

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[2] His stories were published in the *Cosmopolitan, Godey's Lady's Book, Graham's Magazine, Harper's Magazine, Knickerbocker Magazine, Ladies' Companion, Magnolia, Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review, Southern Literary Gazette, Southern Literary Journal, Southern Literary Messenger,* and *Union Magazine.*

[3] His stories appeared in *The Gift, The Magnolia Annual,* and *The Odd-Fellows' Offering.*

[4] *The Book of My Lady* (Philadelphia, 1833); *Martin Faber and Other Tales* (New York, 1837); *Carl Werner: An Imaginative Story* (New York, 1838); *The Wigwam and the Cabin* (New York, 1845); *Life in America: Wigwam and Cabin* (Aberdeen, 1848); *The Lily and the Totem* (New York, 1850); and *Southward Ho!* (New York, 1854).

In 1842 Simms edited a collection of stories by American authors. In this book, *Transatlantic Tales* (London, 1842), he did not include any of his own stories, just as for some inexplicable reason he did not publish any of his own work in another of his edited volumes, *The Charleston Book* (Charleston, 1845).

Another collection of Simms's stories is listed in Trent's bibliography: *Star Brethren and Other Stories.* Of it Trent remarks that Simms "made up a volume of stories under this title, but Mr. [James Wood] Davidson seems to be the only authority for its existence in printed form." See *William Gilmore Simms* (American Men of Letters Series; Boston, 1892), p. 342. So far as I can discover, it was never published.

[5] *William Gilmore Simms,* pp. 334-342.

[6] James G. Johnson, *Southern Fiction Prior to 1860* (Charlottesville, Va., 1909), pp. 79-87.

[7] Robert Cecil Beale, *Development of the Short Story in the South* (Charlottesville, Va., 1911), "Chronological List of Southern Short Stories Written in the Nineteenth Century," pp. 101-134.

[8] Alexander S. Salley, Jr., "A Bibliography of William Gilmore Simms," *Publications of the Southern Historical Society,* I, 269-295 (Oct., 1897).

[9] Oscar Wegelin, *A List of the Separate Writings of William Gilmore Simms of South Carolina* (New York, 1906), pp. 11-31.

In the following canon of stories by Simms fifty-eight stories are listed in chronological order. The first appearance in a periodical and the first publication in a book are given for each story. All known appearances are listed. Each of these stories has been personally examined and studied.

1. "Oakatibbe: The Choctaw Sampson," *Southern Literary Gazette* (Charleston, S. C.), I, 142-149 (Sept., 1828); *The Book of My Lady* (Philadelphia: Key and Biddle, 1833), pp. 277-290; *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review* (Charleston, S. C.), I, 244-255, 318-329 (April and May, 1845); *The Wigwam and the Cabin* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845), First Series, pp. 176-208.
2. "Chatelard, the Poet: A Passage from History," *Cosmopolitan* (Charleston: William Estill, 1833), I, 25-37; *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 38-51; *Martin Faber and Other Tales* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1837), II, 205-229; *Lippincott's Magazine* (Philadelphia), I, 263-276 (March, 1868).
3. "Ponce de Leon," *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 60-75; *Godey's Lady's Book* (Philadelphia), XIII, 261-265 (Dec., 1836); *Martin Faber and Other Tales,* II, 231-255.
4. "Venetian Bridal: The Bride of Fate," *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 76-85; *Graham's Magazine* (Philadelphia), XXXIII, 241-251 (Nov., 1848); *Southward Ho!* (New York: Redfield, 1854), pp. 138-165.

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[10] *Representative American Short Stories,* ed. Alexander Jessup (Boston, 1923), "A List of Representative American Short Stories," p. 116.

[11] New York, 1923, pp. 421-422. See also her *Supplement.* One story in particular, "Trip to the Derby," is incorrectly attributed to Simms in the *Index;* it was published in 1889 in *Tales of Today,* a collection of stories by G. R. Sims. See *American Catalogue, 1884-1890* (New York, 1891), p. 473.

"Atalantis" and "The Last of the Yemassees" are poems, not short stories. "A Dream of the Earth" is not a story; it is a philosophical, metaphysical essay. "A Tale of Faery," though printed separately in *The Book of My Lady,* is later combined with "Death of a Fairy" to make the story "Sweet William," which is not listed in the *Index.* "The Opportunity," listed as a story, is merely a brief dialogue scene; revised and expanded, it was later published as "Major Rocket," which is not listed in the *Index.* "Martin Faber" is listed as a story in *The Book of My Lady;* it is not a short story, and it does not appear in this collection.

The novelettes "Maize in Milk," "Marie de Berniere" (also listed as "Ghost of My Husband"), "The Maroon," and "The Golden Christmas" are also listed in the *Index* as short stories. Since these stories are respectively 102, 176, 129, and 162 pages in length, they do not seem to belong properly among Simms's short stories; they are really novelettes.

5. "Sweet William: A Tale of Faery," *Cosmopolitan,* I, 101-117; *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 95-106, 217-236; *Martin Faber and Other Tales,* I, 161-210.
6. "The Plank: A Story of the Sea," *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 107-125; *Martin Faber and Other Tales,* II, 119-150.
7. "Haiglar: A Story of the Catawbas," *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 126-135; (expanded and revised as "The Legend of the Happy Valley and the Beautiful Fawn"), *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, Va.), XX, 396-403, 492-503 (July and August, 1854).
8. "Missouri: The Captive of the Pawnee," *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 155-168; *Southward Ho!,* pp. 404-437.
9. "La Pola: The Maid of Bogota," *Cosmopolitan,* II, 169-181; *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 169-179; *Southern Literary Journal* (Charleston, S. C.), IV, 464-470 (Dec., 1838); *Graham's Magazine,* XXXIII, 75-83 (Aug., 1848); *Southward Ho!,* pp. 36-58.
10. "Onea and Anyta: Children of the Sun," *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 189-211; *Carl Werner* (New York: George Adlard, 1838), I, 208-243.
11. "Legend of the Pacific," *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 244-256.
12. "Passage of Arms in '76: A Scene of the Revolution," *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 259-276; *Martin Faber and Other Tales,* II, 91-118.
13. "Spirit Bridegroom: Star Brethren," *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 291-299; *Southern Literary Journal,* III, 193-211 (Nov., 1836); *Martin Faber and Other Tales,* II, 37-89; *Carl Werner,* I, 154-207.
14. "Festival of Isis," *The Book of My Lady,* pp. 302-313.
15. "Cherokee Embassage," *Southern Literary Journal,* I, 227-238 (Dec., 1835); *Carl Werner,* II, 174-208.
16. "Logoochie: The Branch of Sweet Water: A Legend of Georgia," *The Magnolia for 1836* (and for 1839 and 1841), pp. 36-71; *Carl Werner,* II, 83-129.
17. "Major Rocket," *Knickerbocker Magazine* (New York), VIII, 568-585 (Nov., 1836); *Martin Faber and Other Tales,* II, 151-203.
18. "Sins of Typography," *Martin Faber and Other Tales,* II, 3-35.
19. "Jocassee: A Cherokee Legend," *The Gift for 1837,* pp. 56-82; *Carl Werner,* II, 131-173; *The Wigwam and the Cabin,* First Series, pp. 209-233.
20. "Conrade Weickhoff," *The Magnolia for 1837,* pp. 188-253; *Carl Werner,* II, 3-82.
21. "Carl Werner: An Imaginary Story," *Carl Werner,* I, 1-89.
22. "Ipsistos," *Southern Literary Journal,* IV, 8-30 (July, 1838); *Carl Werner,* I, 90-153.
23. "The Grave in the Forest," *Southern Literary Messenger,* IV, 690-691 (Nov., 1838); *The Odd-Fellows' Offering,* 1853, pp. 188-194.

24. "The Arm-Chair of Tustenuggee: A Tradition of the Catawba," *Godey's Lady's Book and Ladies' American Magazine,* XX, 193-201 (May, 1840); *The Wigwam and the Cabin,* First Series, pp. 120-148.
25. "The Lazy Crow: A Story of the Cornfield," *The Gift for 1840,* pp. 41-72; *The Wigwam and the Cabin,* Second Series, pp. 99-126; *Cyclopedia of Wit and Humor,* ed. William E. Burton (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1868), I, 169-177.
26. "The Bride of Hate: The Passage of a Night: The Benefactress," *Godey's Lady's Book and Ladies' American Magazine,* XXII, 115-127 (March, 1841); *Southward Ho!,* pp. 182-217.
27. "Caloya: The Loves of the Driver," *Magnolia,* III, 222-229, 264-273, 317-324 (May, June, and July, 1841); *The Wigwam and the Cabin,* Second Series, pp. 127-195.
28. "Grayling: Murder Will Out," *The Gift for 1842,* pp. 262-304; *The Wigwam and the Cabin,* First Series, pp. 1-36; *The Prose Writers of America,* ed. Rufus W. Griswold (Philadelphia: A. Hart, 1852), pp. 505-517; *Century Readings in the American Short Story,* ed. Fred Lewis Pattee (New York: The Century Company, 1927), pp. 83-100.
29. "Lucas de Ayllon: A Historical Nouvellette: A Romance of Carolina," *Ladies' Companion* (New York), XVII, 36-40, 147-152, 184-190 (May, July, and August, 1842); *The Wigwam and the Cabin,* Second Series, pp. 196-238.
30. "The Ship of Fire: A Legend of the North Carolina Shore," *Magnolia* I, 32-34 (July, 1842); *Southward Ho!,* pp. 334-346.
31. "The Wager of Battle: A Tale of the Feudal Ages" (or, "Annihilation: A Romance of the Night"), *Magnolia,* I, 288-298 (Nov., 1842); *Graham's Magazine,* XXXIV, 99-109 (Feb., 1849); *Southward Ho!,* pp. 352-379.
32. "The Last Wager: The Gamester of the Mississippi: A Frontier Story," *The Gift for 1843,* pp. 275-327; *The Wigwam and the Cabin,* First Series, pp. 71-119.
33. "Guernache, the Drummer," *Ladies' Companion,* XX, 29-39 (Nov., 1843); *The Lily and the Totem* (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1850), pp. 37-80.
34. "Lachane, the Deliverer," *Ladies Companion,* XX, 61-67 (Dec., 1843); *The Lily and the Totem,* pp. 81-99.
35. "The Conspiracy of Le Genre," *Ladies' Companion,* New Series, I, 163-169, 228-232 (August and September, 1844); *The Lily and the Totem,* pp. 133-163.
36. "The Prima Donna: A Passage from City Life" (Philadelphia: Louis A. Godey, 1844), pp. 1-24.

37. "The Two Camps: A Legend of the Old North State," *The Gift for 1844,* pp. 149-181; *The Wigwam and the Cabin,* First Series, pp. 37-70.
38. "The Giant's Coffin: The Feud of Holt and Houston: A Tale of Reedy River," *The Gift for 1845,* pp. 169-211; *The Wigwam and the Cabin,* Second Series, pp. 1-43.
39. "Geoffrey Rudel: Pilgrim of Love: The Biography of a Troubadour," *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review,* I, 26-33 (Jan., 1845); *Union Magazine* (New York), I, 148-154 (Oct., 1847); *Southward Ho!,* pp. 65-79.
40. "Those Old Lunes!: Which Is the Madman?" *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review,* I, 85-99 (Feb., 1845); *The Wigwam and the Cabin,* Second Series, pp. 79-98; *International Short Stories,* ed. William Patten (New York: P. F. Collier, 1910), pp. 327-344; *Representative American Short Stories,* ed. Alexander Jessup (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1923), pp. 237-248.
41. "Sergeant Barnacle: Raftsman of the Edisto," *Graham's Magazine,* XXVI, 109-120 (March, 1845); *The Wigwam and the Cabin,* Second Series, pp. 44-78.
42. "The Picture of Judgment: The Grotta del Tifone," *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review,* I, 166-181 (March, 1845); *Graham's Magazine,* XXXIV, 337-345 (June, 1849); *Southward Ho!,* pp. 221-244.
43. "The Snake of the Cabin," *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review,* I, 393-411 (June, 1845); *The Wigwam and the Cabin,* First Series, pp. 149-175.
44. "Mesmerides in a Stage-Coach: Passes en Passant," *Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book,* XXXI, 111-119 (Sept., 1845).
45. "Love's Last Supper: A True Story of the Troubadours," *Graham's Magazine,* XXXI, 277-286 (Dec., 1847); *Southward Ho!,* pp. 80-104.
46. "Mr. Greene," *Life in America: The Wigwam and the Cabin* (Aberdeen: George Clark and Son, 1848), pp. 251-297.
47. "How Would You Like It?," *Life in America,* pp. 298-311.
48. "The Voice of the Mute," *Union Magazine,* II, 97-102 (March, 1848).
49. "Narrative of Le Barbu: The Bearded Man of Calos," *The Lily and the Totem,* pp. 218-250.
50. "Iracana: The Eden of the Floridians," *The Lily and the Totem,* pp. 294-309.
51. "Flirtation at the Moultrie House" (published in pamphlet form) (Charleston: Edward C. Councell, 1850), pp. 1-46.

52. "The Bride of Battle: A Tale of the Revolution: A Southern Novelet," *Graham's Magazine,* XXXVII, 23-29, 84- 91, 163-169 (July, August, and September, 1850); *Southward Ho!,* pp. 257-310.
53. "Gleams after Glooms: Joy Cometh in the Morning," *Southern Literary Messenger,* XIX, 267-278, 345-362 (May and June, 1853).
54. ["Oyster Wars"], *Southward Ho!,* pp. 21-30.
55. ["The Wrecker"], *Southward Ho!,* pp. 61-65.
56. ["Legend of the One-Legged Lady"], *Southward Ho!,* pp. 131-137.
57. "The Story of Blackbeard," *Southward Ho!,* pp. 448-467.
58. "How Sharp Snaffles Got His Capital and His Wife," *Harper's Magazine* (New York), XLI, 667-687 (Oct., 1870); (entitled "The Big Lie: A Hunter's Story"), *The Library of Choice Literature,* eds. A. R. Spoffard and Charles Gibbon (Philadelphia: Gebbie and Company, 1883), III, 324-338; *Stories of the South,* ed. Addison Hibbard (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1931), pp. 33-90.
59. "The Confessions of a Murderer," *Pleiades and Southern Literary Gazette,* II (Nov. 7, 1829). Pagination unknown.

The last item probably belongs in the canon of Simms's stories; it is considered separately because it presents a peculiar problem that requires special attention: I have not examined it because I have not been able to locate a copy of the *Pleiades and Southern Literary Gazette.* Simms refers to it as being "eight or ten pages in the second volume" of the *Gazette.* His first novel, *Martin Faber,* published in 1833, is the expanded form of this story, which thus has a literary significance in addition to its historical value as the basis of Simms's first novel; it enabled him to refute the charges of having plagiarized an English book, *Miserrimus,* by F. M. Reynolds. Simms, who had never read *Miserrimus,* referred his critics to the short story published four years earlier in the *Gazette.*[12]

In addition to the fifty-nine stories that were certainly written by Simms, there are three stories that were published unsigned in the *Cosmopolitan.* "An Old Time Story"[13] and "The Young Advocate,"[14] on the basis of internal evidence, style, content, vocabulary, spelling of certain words in Simms's own peculiar fashion, I believe to be written by Simms. "The Rival Doctors"[15] shows signs of Simms's authorship, but I do not feel sure that he wrote it. Trent attributes these stories to Simms in his statement that "in all probability he [Simms] was the sole writer of the stories in the *Cosmopolitan*."[16] Ludwig Lewisohn also credits Simms with having written these stories: "The stories [in the *Cosmopolitan*] are probably all by Simms."[17]

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[12] In the *Charleston Courier,* Oct. 29, 1829, there is a notice of the "twelfth number for November of the *Southern Literary Gazette.*" The second story listed in the Table of Contents is Simms's "The Confessions of a Murderer." This issue, which came out on Nov. 7, 1829, was the only one published under the title of the *Pleiades and Southern Literary Gazette.*

[13] *Cosmopolitan,* II, 123-141. It was later republished in the *Southern Literary Journal,* IV, 322-331 (Nov., 1838).

[14] *Cosmopolitan,* I, 245-264. This story was later republished in *Chicora,* I, 81-82 (Sept., 1842), with the title of "Love and Law: A Tale of Truth."

No definite attribution of "A Tale of the Ashley"[18] to Simms has been made, but an examination of this story has convinced me that Simms wrote it. This story, which was published unsigned, contains fair specimens of Negro dialect, bits of Negro superstitions, and a description of a faithful Negro, June, all done in a manner identical with Simms's work in his other Negro stories. It has several good descriptions of natural beauties, similar in wording and nature to some of Simms's other descriptions of picturesque Southern scenes in other stories and in his novels; the similarity of details, wording, content, and style is almost unmistakable. Another point that indicates, though it does not prove Simms's authorship, is the beautiful description of an English ship lying at anchor in the Ashley River at night.[19]

Four stories, "Isabel of St. Augustine,"[20] "The Outlaw's Daughter,"[21] "The White Horse,"[22] and "Trip to the Derby,"[23] are incorrectly attributed to Simms. He followed the custom of his day in writing under pseudonyms[24] and of publishing much of his work anonymously; consequently, some of his stories and articles are probably forever lost, and the compilation of a bibliography of his contributions to magazines is complicated by several doubtful attributions and some that are now known to be definitely incorrect.

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[15] *Cosmopolitan*, I, 215-243.

[16] *William Gilmore Simms*, p. 83.

[17] "Books We Have Made," *News and Courier* (Charleston, S. C.), Aug. 2, 1903, p. 20. The attribution of these stories to Simms cannot be considered as authoritative, for both Trent and Lewisohn are wrong in supposing that Simms wrote all the stories in the *Cosmopolitan*. See nn. 20, 21, 22, below. Edward Carroll wrote two of the stories, and Charles R. Carroll wrote one; consequently the theory expressed by Dr. Guy A. Cardwell, Jr., is definitely confirmed: "Clearly, it is possible that Simms joined with Carroll and another friend in editing the *Cosmopolitan*, in which case the club of the three bachelors may not have been entirely an imaginary one." See "The Influence of Addison on Charleston Periodicals, 1795-1860," *Studies in Philology*, XXXV, 466-467 (July, 1938).

[18] *Chicora*, I, 97-98 (Oct., 1842).

[19] Trent mentions Simms's exploring "in his boat, the beautiful harbor that is still Charleston's pride," and says that "his chief pleasure was to lie on the sands at evening, looking out upon the ocean, listening to its mysterious sounds, and longing to take a voyage that would carry him out of sight of land. . . . He wished . . . to be alone with the sea." See *William Gilmore Simms*, pp. 10-11.

[20] *Cosmopolitan*, I, 183-214. Written by "the late Edward Carroll," this story also appeared in the *Southern Literary Journal*, III, 183-198 (March, 1838).

[21] *Cosmopolitan*, I, 75-100. Written by "the late Edward Carroll," this story also appeared in the *Southern Literary Journal*, IV, 193-206 (Sept., 1838).

[22] *Cosmopolitan*, II, 143-168. Written by Charles R. Carroll, this story also appeared in *Chicora*, I, 25-26 (July 30, 1842).

[23] In her *Index to Short Stories* Ina Ten Eyck Firkins (above, n. 11) attributes this story to Simms.

Five references are made in Firkins's *Index* to items supposed to be stories by Simms. Examinations of "The Mad Pythagorean," "The Last of the Yemassees," "Atalantis," "The Opportunity," and "A Dream of the Earth" disclose that they are not stories at all; hence they must be removed from the canon of Simms's stories. Although Lewisohn refers to "The Mad Pythagorean" as a story "not without imaginative powers,"[25] it cannot be considered a story in any accepted sense of the word; it is rather an imaginative essay. "The Last of the Yemassees" and "Atalantis" are poems, not stories. "The Opportunity" is merely a scrappy dialogue, not a story; it was later incorporated with other material and published as the story "Major Rocket," but in its original form it cannot be considered a story. "A Dream of the Earth" is definitely not a story; it is a philosophical, metaphysical essay.

Several stories have been omitted here because of their length. Stories of more than one hundred pages have been considered novelettes and have not been treated as short stories. Since their titles, however, appear in bibliographies of Simms's stories, it seems necessary to mention them here: "Castle Dismal,"[26] "Marie de Berniere: Ghost of My Husband,"[27] "The Maroon,"[28] "Maize in Milk,"[29] and "The Golden Christmas."[30] Though *Martin Faber* is published in a collection of short stories, it is rather a short psychological novel. Enlarged from the short story, "The Confessions of a Murderer," *Martin Faber* is usually referred to as "Simms' first novel."[31]

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[24] At least eighteen pen names were used by Simms: "A Bachelor Knight," "Adrian Beaufain," "Apicius," "A Southerner," "Claude," "Dekkar," "Δ," "Delta," "Diggory Dimples of St. Peter's," "Dramaticus," "Father Abbott," "Frank Cooper," "G — e," "Il Penseroso," "Musæus," "S," "Southron," and "Werner."

[25] *News and Courier,* Aug. 2, 1903, p. 20.

[26] New York, 1844. When this story was published serially in the *Magnolia* (O. S., IV, 1842), it bore the title: "Castle Dismal; Or, The Bachelor's Christmas: A Nouvellette" by G. B. Singleton, Esq. of South Carolina. Despite this attribution, there is no doubt that Simms is the author.

[27] Philadelphia, 1853.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Charleston, 1852.

[31] Simms, however, considered *Guy Rivers* his "first novel." See *Passages from the Correspondence of Rufus W. Griswold* (Cambridge, Mass., 1898), p. 82.

The impression that Simms never revised what he wrote—that he was too careless to take the time and trouble to rework his material—is entirely incorrect. As his literary technique matured, he did rewrite, revise, and expand his stories; and he did improve the literary quality of his early work. Stories in *The Book of My Lady* and the *Cosmopolitan* (both published in 1833 and both containing his early stories), collated with the same stories in their later forms, indicate without doubt that Simms was able to see mistakes in his own work and that—despite his admitted affection for these early stories—he did revise them. In every case the later version of the story shows considerable improvement as a result of the revision.[32]

Simms was the first important American writer[33] to use the Negro as a character in a short story; he wrote five stories in which Negroes are employed as characters: "The Lazy Crow," "Caloya," "The Snake of the Cabin," "The Bride of the Battle," and "The Passage of Arms in '76." Only nine Negro characters appear in these five stories: Tom in "The Passage of Arms in '76," Abram in "The Snake of the Cabin," Mingo and Diana in "Caloya," Brough and Mimy in "The Bride of the Battle," and Scipio, Methusaleh, and Gullah Sam in "The Lazy Crow." Since these are probably the first Negro characters in American short stories, and since they are distinctly individualized portraits rather than type characters, they represent a very real contribution to Southern literature.

In each of these stories Simms uses Negro dialect as a literary tool. In 1833 he first used a Negro character in a story, and for the first time made that character speak the Gullah dialect of the Carolina Negroes. Almost one hundred years elapsed before Ambrose E.

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[32] Stories that Simms expanded and revised are "The Choctaw Sampson," later "Oakatibbe"; "Chatelard"; "Story of the Sea," later "The Plank"; "Haiglar," later "The Legend of the Happy Valley and the Beautiful Fawn"; "Missouri"; "La Pola"; "Children of the Sun," later "Onea and Anyta"; "The Spirit Bridegroom," later "Star Brethren"; "The Opportunity," later used in "Major Rocket"; "The Venetian Bridal," later "The Bride of Fate"; "The Ship of Fire"; "The Confessions of a Murderer," later *Martin Faber;* and "Death of a Fairy" and "A Tale of Faery," later combined to form "Sweet William." Simms often used several titles for stories that he republished; in the canon of his stories titles and subtitles are written together.

[33] John Davis, in *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America, 1798-1802*, ed. A. J. Morrison (New York, 1909), pp. 413-424, has a story in which one paragraph contains a few words that are apparently Gullah in origin; they are used together with a mixture of English and American words and expressions and cannot constitute a real use of Gullah as a literary tool. "The Story of Dick the Negro," however, is interesting as an example of the sort of dialect used by Negro characters in early literary works. The dialect of Dick, like that of Jupiter in Poe's "The Gold Bug," is obviously inferior to that of Simms's Negro characters.

CENTR BRAR ERS

Gonzales published his Gullah stories in *The Black Border*[34] and awakened a nation-wide interest in this fascinating dialect. A study of Simms's use of Negro dialect shows that it is much less faulty than is generally thought. As a matter of fact, it is remarkably—almost scientifically—correct. The Gullah dialect in Simms's stories is not a haphazard attempt by a white man to reproduce the strange-sounding dialect of the Negro but is a consistent, unusually accurate reproduction of the actual sounds and words of the Carolina Gullah dialect, in so far as this peculiar dialect can ever be reproduced in print. In thus making use of Negro dialect for the improvement of his characterization, Simms is the forerunner of a long line of Southern writers of stories about Negroes.

Probably his best story of Negro life is "The Lazy Crow." In addition to its inherent value as a good story, "The Lazy Crow" is important because it shows that Simms recognized the literary value of Negro superstitions that he learned from a first-hand acquaintance with the superstitious Negroes of the ante-bellum South; and because it shows that he was sufficiently capable as a story writer to be able to use these superstitions as literary materials in building his story.

Simms's boyhood interest in Indians and Indian stories increased as he grew older; he had almost a lifelong interest in Indians as people and as literary characters. From his father's stories and from personal observation on his trips to the Southwest he learned many things that he later used in his Indian stories. His wide and careful reading of books on Southern life and history contributed materially to his knowledge of Indian names, religions, histories, tribal rites and customs; legends, traditions, and stories.

Simms wrote at least fifteen Indian stories: "The Arm-Chair of Tustenuggee," "Jocassee," "Caloya," "The Two Camps," "Oakatibbe," "Lucas de Ayllon," "The Legend of Missouri," "Logoochie," "The Legend of Guernache," "The Narrative of Le Barbu," "Iracana," "Onea and Anyta," "Haiglar," "The Legend of the Pacific," and "Cherokee Embassage." For most of his stories of Indian life sources can easily be found; he usually gives references that are readily traced. There are six legends and traditions, however, whose sources are not definitely known: "Oakatibbe," "Haiglar," "The Arm-Chair of Tustenuggee," "Logoochie," "Missouri," and "Jocassee." They seem to have been developed from oral traditions and stories that Simms acquired on his trips to the Southwest.

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[34] Columbia, S. C., 1922.

Simms's Indian stories fall readily into four classifications. The most important of these is made up of stories of love and adventure, in which the lively action of Indian hunting, warfare, and adventurous deeds adds interest to the love-plot. The eight stories in this group are "Haiglar," "The Narrative of Le Barbu," "Onea and Anyta," "Jocassee," "Lucas de Ayllon," "The Two Camps," "The Legend of Missouri," and "The Legend of Guernache." Stories in which love is the main theme, and in which adventurous action is subordinated to the love-plot, are "The Legend of the Pacific," "Iracana," and "Logoochie." Two stories predominantly humorous in nature are "Cherokee Embassage" and "The Arm-Chair of Tustenuggee." Stories which place stress on character development and social problems are "Oakatibbe" and "Caloya."

Two of his Indian stories take place at plantation settlements; four, near the seashore; nine, in the forest. As Simms describes hunts, trailing and scouting expeditions, lonely night prowls, and Indian combats in the Southern forests, he finds it necessary to write descriptions of birds, flowers, trees, rivers, and other natural phenomena. Much of the charm of some of the stories lies in their attractive pictures of scenes of natural beauties—scenes that are not surpassed by those of later Southern writers such as Lanier, Rutledge, and Sass. Some of the intrinsically beautiful passages, describing in accurate details Southern scenery and forests, would be appreciated and enjoyed by many readers today if the stories containing them were easily available. Simms used his accurate details, drawn from a real knowledge of Southern flora and fauna, to set his stage for the action that follows, to furnish a suitable background and environment for his characters, and to give atmosphere and color to his plots

Many of his stories contain temptations to drive home a lesson or sermonize. Almost always, despite his genuine sympathy and affection for Indians, he passes over the situation or incident without undue didacticism or moralizing. Very little of this sort of writing can be found in his Indian stories.

Simms is at his best when he relates an Indian legend or tradition: he has written some permanently good Indian stories.

In fifteen of his stories the characters, plots, and settings are primarily concerned with American people, actions, and scenes. These fifteen stories of American life are of two general kinds: stories based on actual history, and fictional stories having little or nothing to do with actual history. "The Story of Blackbeard" and "The Passage of Arms in '76" are fundamentally authentic in historical details; so also are "The Conspiracy of Le Genre" and "Lachane, the Deliverer." "La Pola: The Maid of Bogota" is a story based on an incident in South American history.

Five of these stories deal specifically with pioneer life: "The Voice of the Mute," "The Last Wager," "Grayling," "The Giant's Coffin," and "Sergeant Barnacle." "The Ship of Fire" is a pirate story; "The Bride of Battle" relates a story of love and adventure during the Revolutionary War. "How Would You Like It?" is a story of city life, and "Gleams After Glooms" deals with life in the country. "The Wrecker" describes the ship-wrecking activities of land pirates on the Jersey Coast.

In his stories of pioneer life Simms draws some excellent pictures of pioneer men, women, and children. These stories are more valuable for their settings and characters than for their plots. In them he presents a colorful collection of individuals; yet, like the pilgrims in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales,* they represent types while remaining individuals. Though the quality of these stories is very uneven, the stories themselves are not uninteresting. The majority of them can be read today without difficulty and even with pleasure if one likes stories of adventure and red-blooded action. The best stories are those drawn from Simms's own experiences.

The wide variety of characters, individualized but suggesting types, offers a collection of men, women, and children sufficiently well drawn to constitute a literary cross section of life in America before the Civil War. His excellent portraiture of Southern people, especially of "striking and original characters drawn from the humbler walks of life," is one of his chief claims to literary attention and study.

Though Simms is not considered a humorous writer, he wrote at least twelve stories in which his intention was obviously to amuse his readers; and in several other stories he uses humorous devices to brighten up his narratives, to improve characterization, and to increase the reader's enjoyment of the stories. He seems to have had a fairly keen sense of humor; his strong, manly personality pervades most of his humorous stories, materially enlivening and strengthening them. Two stories, "The Arm-Chair of Tustenuggee" and "Cherokee Embassage," are certainly meant to be humorous. "The Sins of Typography," "Those Old Lunes," "Mesmerides in a Stage-Coach," "How Sharp Snaffles Got His Capital and His Wife," "Mr. Greene," "Major Rocket," "Ponce de Leon," "Oyster Wars," and "The Legend of the One-Legged Lady" are unquestionably humorous stories, deliberately intended by Simms to amuse his readers. Parts of "Caloya," "The Lazy Crow," "The Plank," and "Sweet William" are humorous; but in these stories humor is subordinated to plot, characterization, or action.

In most of these stories the settings are for the most part unimportant, being subordinated to plot and action; and comparatively little emphasis is placed on characterization. Simms uses several standard literary devices to amuse his readers: mistaken identity, improbable situations, the "tall tale," social satire, comic incidents; puns, malapropisms, and plays on words. In only two stories does he make use of alliterative names or descriptive names that in themselves tell something about the characters. Most of his humorous stories are readable, amusing, and entertaining. Some of them, handled with a remarkably light touch, are stories that can meet the impartial critical standards of a modern short-story critic.

At least ten stories have their settings in European countries. They are the least original of Simms's stories, and they do not contribute in any real sense to Southern and American literature. Their characters are Europeans, and their plots show influences of Simms's wide reading of European literature and history. These stories fall readily into three major divisions: three stories of "courtly love": "Chatelard, the Poet," "The Pilgrim of Love," and "Love's Last Supper"; three romances of adventurous action: "The Festival of Isis," "The Bride of Fate," and "The Wager of Battle"; and five tales of tragedy and horror: "Carl Werner," "Spirit Bridegroom," "Conrade Weickhoff," "The Bride of Hate," and "The Picture of Judgment."

Some of Simms's stories suffer from obvious literary defects. Considered as a group, his stories are very uneven in quality, for many of them were written in his youth—before he matured as a writer. Like most juvenilia, his earliest stories should be generously disregarded in making a final appraisal of his standing as a story writer.

In some of his stories he seemed incapable of objective detachment, lacking in artistic self-control and critical self-knowledge. A rapid writer, he exhibited a tendency toward prolixity and diffuseness that lowers the quality of some of his stories. In others he achieved anticlimactic or melodramatic effects that weaken the reader's enjoyment of these stories. A few of his stories start with long, irrelevant, unnecessary introductions. Interesting and well-written short essays in themselves, they delay their plots materially. Simms's readers, however, expected these introductory essays and probably found them rather attractive. In his stories Simms is not usually guilty of being episodic, of making contradictory statements and conflicting descriptions, of using extravagant, meaningless conversations, and of failing to attain the effect of climax. These faults, which are found in his long novels, are automatically eliminated in his stories because of space limitations.

A lover of literature, richly endowed with natural talent, a careful, appreciative reader, Simms possessed a poetic sentiment and a broadness of view that sets him high in the estimation of those who know him by his best works. His stories are interesting from a linguistic point of view, for Simms was a master of racy idiom, both English and American; his rich linguistic equipment is reflected in his admirably large vocabulary, his strong and sometimes original figures of speech. Many readers still enjoy his hearty geniality, his impetuous virility, his exciting vitality, and his remarkable versatility. When Trent declared that the "vim and vigor of his personality is transferred to his exciting pages," he pointed out another of Simms's claims to the attention of students of American life and literature. Steeped in the legends and history of the South, observant and inventive, Simms was a writer with a strong, vivid imagination and an immense fertility. Though his stories of frontier life may be rough in spots and sensational at times, they show his love of natural beauties and his affectionate understanding of Indians and early American pioneers and settlers.

Beginning to publish before 1830, Simms wrote and published at least fifty-nine stories before his death in 1870. The volume of his work in the field of the American short story is much larger than is usually supposed, and his achievements in this field repay careful scholarly attention. Most of Simms's stories were published first in annuals, magazines, and periodicals; they were later republished in collections of short stories, seven of which are still available. Simms was probably the first American short-story writer to use the Negro as a character in stories; the Negro dialect used in his stories to add verisimilitude, color, and realism to his characters, is a remarkably accurate and authentic reproduction of the Carolina Gullah dialect. Many of his characters—especially in his stories of pioneer life—are not puppets or type characters but are satisfactorily convincing literary characters. Collations of his early stories with republished versions show that he improved in technique as he continued to write, and that he revised, expanded, and improved the literary quality of his stories. A careful study of the entire body of Simms's stories indicates that William Gilmore Simms, as a writer of short stories, should rank high as an early American pioneer story writer.

THE BACKGROUND FOR EMERSON'S "BOSTON HYMN"

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I

THE COMPOSITION of only a few of Emerson's poems can be precisely dated. But it is now possible to establish an accurate chronology for the composition of "Boston Hymn";[1] and certainly more interesting and more important, it is possible to give the complete and fascinating story of how, actually, Emerson wrote the poem. Part of the interest of "Boston Hymn" has always been the fact that it was Emerson's unyielding answer to a national crisis. The complete story will give us not only an insight into the methods of a great poetic nature but also a more vivid realization of how a political and national crisis involving millions of people precipitated "Boston Hymn." And our interest should increase as we come to see that "Boston Hymn" nearly failed to be written at all.

The notes to the Centenary Edition give the following account of the occasion at which Emerson read the poem:

> On the first day of the next year [1863], when President Lincoln's Proclamation went into effect, Mr. Emerson read this poem at a great celebration of the event in Boston. It was published in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1863.[2]

The celebration, which was held in the Boston Music Hall, was fully reported by *Dwight's Journal of Music.* Except for Emerson's recitation the program was musical, beginning with Beethoven's overture to *Egmont* and ending with Rossini's overture to *William Tell.*

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[1] I wish to thank the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association through Mr. Edward Waldo Forbes for permission to refer to Emerson's MS Verse Books *EL* and *Poems* and to print the following hitherto unpublished material: five rejected stanzas and the variants of "Boston Hymn" and a letter from Mrs. George L. Stearns to Emerson dated December 17?, 1863. I wish also to thank Mr. Josiah K. Lilly, Jr., for permission to print two letters of Emerson, hitherto unpublished, and to refer to the *John Brown Album* and the MS of "Boston Hymn" which is in the album.

[2] Emerson, *Complete Works* (Centenary Edition), IX, 468. All further references to Emerson's works will be to this edition.

> At the appointed hour of three Mr. Conductor Zerrahn tapped upon his desk and brought the orchestra to their bearings, as if to attack the overture. This was but a feint. Attention thus secured, Mr. Josiah Quincy, Jr., in behalf of the Committee, came forward and announced that a Prologue had been written by Ralph Waldo Emerson, who would himself recite it. This was not in the bills; the Committee, making a virtue of necessity, had kept it back for a surprise. The truth is, our poet, while he wished and strove to do it, feeling the imperative splendor of the opportunity, was far too true a poet and too much upon his honor with the Muse, to compromise her name by any rash announcement without authority of her own sign manual, to-wit the actual "arrival of the poem"; in spirit heartily he said yes, but it was only for the Muse, the inscrutably capricious, better knowing one, to say yes in fact. At the eleventh hour, however, poet and poem . . . did "arrive," to crown the other omens with completeness. It was a hymn of Liberty and Justice, wild and strong, and musical and very short, and in his rich tones spellbound the great assembly.[3]

The abundant rhetoric in this account may do violence to our taste for restraint; but we should recall that the rhetoric is charged with the passion and sincerity that inspired the event. Many of the people who gathered in the Music Hall had been waiting for this moment for so long a time that feelings overflowed the bounds of frigidly correct behavior. Three thousand friends of emancipation cheered William Lloyd Garrison, who was present.[4] The sense of victory achieved, of a long task accomplished, was in the air. And Emerson, who had supported the abolitionists since 1851, shared and expressed the exultation.

Emerson revealed his preference for the quiet life of the scholar in his great "Ode Inscribed to W. H. Channing":

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[3] *Dwight's Journal of Music*, XXII, 327 (Jan. 10, 1863). This account was written by John S. Dwight himself (see George W. Cooke, *John Sullivan Dwight*, Boston, 1898, p. 192). *Dwight's Journal* printed the poem in the issue of January 24 (XXII, 337) with a brief note stating that "the forthcoming number of the *Atlantic Monthly*" would have it. The Boston *Commonwealth*, which was in the habit of briefly reviewing issues of the *Atlantic Monthly* as they appeared, did not have a notice of the February number until February 14 (p. 3). It is altogether possible, therefore, that George W. Cooke (*A Bibliography of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Boston, 1908, p. 14) is correct in ascribing the first appearance of the poem to *Dwight's Journal*. Through Emerson's error in copying the poem for publication, both magazines failed to print the seventeenth stanza (see in this article his letter to Mrs. George L. Stearns, dated Dec. 10, 1863).

[4] "What Northern Women Ask of the Government," Boston *Commonwealth*, Jan. 10, 1863, p. 1.

If I refuse
My study for their politique,
Which at the best is trick,
The angry Muse
Puts confusion in my brain.[5]

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 served, however, to blot confusion from his brain. On Sunday, May 4, 1851, he delivered a lecture on the law in Concord.[6] The lecture was repeated on the following Sunday, May 11, at Lexington; on Wednesday, May 14, at Cambridge; on Friday, May 16, at Fitchburg.[7] Emerson entered upon all of these speaking engagements, except the first, to support the candidacy of John G. Palfrey for a seat in Congress from his own district.[8] It appears that Emerson was abandoning his "honeyed thought" for what he had called the "statesman's rant." It is, indeed, no exaggeration to say that the Fugitive Slave Law catapulted the serene Emerson into angry action; and by July he was writing, "This filthy enactment was made in the nineteenth century, by people who could read and write. I will not obey it, by God."[9]

In July, 1851, the *Daily Morning Commonwealth,* a vigorous abolitionist paper, said:

> The chief American poets, like the true poets of all ages, are on the side of freedom and heartily opposed to Slavery. They whose voices will be familiar to our posterity when the "great speeches" of many an eloquent orator of the day are forgotten, are known to be Free Soilers; and some of them among the most active and zealous members of the party. In this connection, we may venture to name Bryant, Dana, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Pierpont, and Whittier; all of whom vote with the Free Soilers, while two or three of them are, or have been, editors of Free Soil papers.[10]

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[5] *Complete Works,* IX, 76. Emerson is not referring to reformers, but to priests and statesmen; the aloofness from events of the day is, of course, obvious.

[6] *Ibid.,* XI, 179-214. The speech is incorrectly dated May 3 in the Centenary Edition (XI, 177) and in Cabot's *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (II, 577, 754). For the correct date, May 4, see the *Daily Morning Commonwealth* for Wednesday, May 7, 1851, p. 1, which gives an account of the speech.

[7] *Daily Morning Commonwealth,* Saturday, May 10, 1851, p. 2; Monday, May 12, p. 2; Wednesday, May 14, p. 2; Thursday, May 15, p. 2. Emerson's further delivery of the lecture at other places is reported in successive issues of the *Commonwealth.*

[8] Cabot, *op. cit.,* II, 585.

[9] *Journals,* VIII, 236.

[10] Friday, July 11, 1851, p. 2. The *Commonwealth* had in mind Emerson's recent speechmaking; poems like "Boston Hymn" and "Ode Sung in the Town Hall" had not yet been written.

This comment inspired an anonymous woman contributor to write an "Invocation to the Free Soil Poets," in which each of the poets mentioned is addressed in turn. Emerson is thus adjured:

And thou whose liquid lay
  Has mingled "Each and All,"
Bring heart and voice to-day
  To Freedom's holy call.[11]

When, therefore, John S. Dwight came to Emerson in December, 1862, for a poem to be read at the Music Hall,[12] he approached a writer who for a long time had been identified as a Free Soil poet. In the reading of the poem, when Emerson came to this stanza,

Pay ransom to the owner
And fill the bag to the brim.
Who is the owner? The slave is owner,
And ever was. Pay him.

it was perhaps the Free Soil poet in him that spoke "the last two words with such energy and emphasis that the audience felt something like an electric shock."[13]

Emerson approached the composition of the poem with much hesitation because, as he explained in a letter to Dwight, dated December 19, he had already promised to be with the Parker Fraternity on the morning of January 1.[14] Emerson mentioned further that the previous night he had "made some rude experiments at verses" about which he was rather dubious.[15] He was still dubious two days before the celebration, for on December 30 he sent the following note to Dwight:

> At this hour you must certainly print the programme without my name, as I have had little or no good fortune. Still, I flatter myself that, if I should have a good sleep to-night,—for I am a bad sleeper lately,—I may even yet, at the eleventh hour, pray to be admitted. But it is too slight a chance to be at all waited for; and I am heartily grieved I did not find the fact sooner.[16]

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[11] *Daily Morning Commonwealth,* July 23, 1851, p. 4.

[12] Cooke, *John Sullivan Dwight,* p. 190.

[13] Frank P. Stearns, *The Life and Public Services of George Luther Stearns* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 275.

[14] Cooke, *John Sullivan Dwight,* p. 190.

[15] *Ibid.,* p. 190.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 191.

A hitherto unpublished letter from Emerson to Mrs. George L. Stearns will set forth most clearly the difficulties that prevented the writing of the poem until the eleventh hour.

Concord
Sunday Eve 28 Dec'r
1862.

My dear Mrs Stearns,

Your kindness has put such an emphasis on your invitation, that I hate to disobey it. Yet it is quite out of my power to think of leaving home on Wednesday. I am promised, if I can, to bring some verses to the Musical Festival on Thursday: & the verses are not written; as I have been riding up & down with no repose such as is needed: and I am bound also to go to Cambridge, on Tuesday night, with a lecture; so that my whole fortune for the verses lies in Tomorrow & Wednesday; for Tuesday has its special preparations. Then, on Saturday, I get off for Canada & a western journey, which requires forethought also. Forgive me, & pity me, that I cannot come. Besides the attraction which your house has on this occasion,—and my wife & children have been reciting to me the fine details,—I also wish particularly to see Judge Conway, who, I believe, is in your house, & whose mind, I learn, is just now especially inspired. My wife has told you her own regrets and if perhaps I shall lose Medford, & yet gain no poem!—

Yours gratefully,
R. W. Emerson.

The evidence is that after December 18 when "some rude experiments" had been made only two days remained for writing the poem: Monday, December 29, and Wednesday, December 31. Emerson's phrase "little or no good fortune" (in his note of December 30 to Dwight) probably means an unsuccessful attempt at composition on the previous day. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the real inspiration was reserved for Wednesday, just one day before the celebration. Emerson's letter of December 31 and January 1 to his brother William indicates, furthermore, that the poem must have been completed on Wednesday. The part of the letter dated January 1 (written undoubtedly in the morning, for the celebration was held at 3 o'clock that afternoon) is pertinent:

> New Years. The happiest day to you & your house! We are all well and all at home for Edward came last night. . . . I go today to the musical concert in Boston, where I am to read some rough verses. . . .[17]

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[17] *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Ralph L. Rusk, V, 301. The homecoming of Emerson's son, Edward, imposes further probable limits on the final composition of the poem, viz, the morning and afternoon of Wednesday, December 31.

On the evening of January 1 a private celebration was held at Mrs. Stearns's house in Medford. In addition to Emerson, who repeated "Boston Hymn," the guests included Wendell Phillips, A. Bronson Alcott, his daughter Louisa, Julia Ward Howe, and other supporters of emancipation. Phillips unveiled a bust of John Brown, and Mrs. Howe read her "Battle Hymn."[18] This was a memorable evening for the Stearnses, and they preserved a record of it in a morocco volume entitled on the front cover, JOHN BROWN ALBUM / EMANCIPATION / EVENING / 1863. Mrs. George L. Stearns sent Emerson some sheets of paper on which he was to copy his poem so that she might place it in the album. She could not have asked for the copy until late in 1863, for Emerson replied promptly.[19] The following hitherto unpublished letter is his reply to the request:

Concord
10 December, 1863
January[20]

Dear Mrs Stearns,

I send the copy of the Hymn, though the eagerness to write fairly on your sumptuous paper has cost you, by blot or error, two sheets. I have supplied in this transcript a stanza which was read on the 1 January, but was accidentally dropt out, when I sent a copy to the printer.

For the manuscript of "The President's Proclamation," I am sorry to have neglected to hunt for the missing paragraph after talking with you of it:—Then it might have been found;—I never remembered it again,—& now it were a hopeless search. I shall hope to make my peace with you by sending you some day, in lieu of it, something that I value much more.

With thanks for your friendliest note, & congratulations on what I learn, that Mr Stearns is at home,

Ever yours gratefully,
R. W. Emerson.

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[18] Stearns, *op. cit.,* pp. 275-276. On the envelope of the letter (Dec. 28, 1862) which Emerson sent to Mrs. Stearns, refusing her invitation to be in Medford on Wednesday, is written in pencil: "He *did* get his Poem, came to our gathering, and read his Poem to us all—M. E. S." The initials stand for Mary Elizabeth Stearns.

[19] See her letter to Emerson which follows in this article. Professor Ralph L. Rusk (*Letters,* V, 303, n. 2) advances the interesting conjecture that Emerson, in a letter to his daughter Edith, dated probably January 3, 1863, directed her to send "the original copy" of "Boston Hymn" to Mrs. Stearns. "It is easy to understand," says Professor Rusk, "why the original should have been given to the wife of the man who had long encouraged Emerson's antislavery activities." This is true, and it is quite possible that the letter, which does not say what the "original copy" is, may refer to "Boston Hymn." Professor Rusk's conjecture is plausible, but the correspondence between Mrs. Stearns and Emerson in December, 1863, throws some doubt upon it.

[20] December is crossed out and January written in a strange hand in pencil. Mrs. Stearns's answer to this letter, in December, 1863, mentions the promptness of Emerson's reply to her request. The date of Emerson's letter must, accordingly, be December 10, 1863; and whoever changed the month did so in error.

To this letter Mrs. Stearns replied probably on the seventeenth of December:

Medford. Decem' 17th, 63[21]

Dear Mr Emerson,

Do, let me thank you, for the prompt, and beautiful way, you have answered my entreaty.

How clear, and handsome, the Poem looks, lying there, on the paper, as if fresh coined from the mint! An "Artist's Proof," above all price!

Then too,—the immortal leisure, that always seems to surround you, /as it does Nature herself/—gains new emphasis, when I consider, that the moments you gave to this, were taken from your busiest season.

I *wish,* I could no something for *you!* but what can a Dandelion in the grass, sing to the Sun, that opens all its florets?

I shall await in serenity, the "Peace-offering," you religiously propose to make, when, I shall be as now—Gratefully happy,

Mary E. Stearns.

II

Emerson's progress with the poem is clearly demonstrated in four separate drafts. These are not dated, but from the correspondence which we have examined we can arrive at probable dates for them. We know that Emerson wrote some "rude verses" on the night of December 18. These are most likely five stanzas written in ink on three sheets of white paper and entitled "The Pilgrims." They follow:

Behold I make partition
In this new world I have built,
For slavery differs from freedom
As honor is wide from guilt.

Lo now to Freedom I assign
And make partition fair,
All space above the waterline,
All ground below the air.

And what's beside may slavery claim
Her residue and share,
Within the earth to hide her shame,
Or climb above the air,

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[21] The date is not clear in the letter. The possible 7 may be a 9 or a 1, although it is extremely unlikely that Mrs. Stearns could have replied on the eleventh to Emerson's letter of the tenth. Professor Ralph L. Rusk (*Letters,* VI, 593) regards the seventeenth as probably the date of the letter.

Firm to the pole he knots the cord,
And to the tropics drew,
About the round globe's quarter broad,
Along the welkin blue.

Hills clapped their hands, the rivers shined,
The seas applauding roar,
The elements were of one mind,
As they had been of yore.[22]

Although Emerson ultimately rejected these stanzas they deserve publication here for two reasons. First, they are the rude but vigorous beginnings of a poem which it is demonstrable Emerson finally wrote at white heat. Secondly, Emerson was fond of these "rude verses," for they occur also in the three succeeding drafts, with the exception of the first stanza, which does not appear in the third of the four drafts.

The other three drafts are in Emerson's Verse Book *EL*.[23] *EL1*, written most likely on December 29,[24] contains stanzas 2, 8, 12, 22, 6, and 7 of the published version in the order in which I list them. Mingled with these are the five stanzas from the first draft and two additional stanzas which were ultimately rejected.[25] *EL2*, following immediately, contains stanzas 2, 3, 8, 12, 14, 21, 22, 5, 6, and 4 of the final version, in the order given, mingled with five rejected stanzas, four from the first draft and one entirely new.[26] *EL2* was written either on Monday, December 29, or on Wednesday, December 31. Both these drafts are without title.

EL3, entitled "The Pilgrims," as was the first draft, contains all twenty-two stanzas of the printed text, mingled with six rejected stanzas, five from the first draft and one from *EL1*.[27] In *EL3* the twenty-two stanzas which Emerson read in the Music Hall are in the order of the printed text, with the exception of 4, 5, and 6, which follow 14. Stanzas 8, 21, and 22 are written twice. It is interesting to note that in *EL3* eleven stanzas of the printed text appear for the first time. If some of these new stanzas, notably 15 to 20, strike a reader with a greater emotional impact than do some of the earlier, the reason may well lie in the fact that they were released from Emerson's heart in "a spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings."

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[22] The three sheets on which these verses are written are gathered with other MS verses into a book originally intended for filing letters. Emerson entitled this volume *Poems*.

[23] In the explanation which follows and in the edition of the poem I have labeled the drafts in the Verse Book, *EL1*, *EL2*, and *EL3*. The "first draft" means that of December 18.

[24] I conclude this from Emerson's letter to Mrs. Stearns, December 28, in which he says that "the verses are not written."

[25] MS Verse Book *EL*, pp. 56-60.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-68. The new quatrain in this draft, ultimately rejected, is published in "Fragments on Nature and Life" (*Complete Works*, IX, 358).

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 86-95.

We can be certain that Emerson wrote *EL3* on December 31; and from it on the same day he culled the stanzas which he intended to read at the Music Hall.[28] The verbal variants of the three drafts in *EL* are sufficiently numerous and interesting to justify another printing of the poem.[29]

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[28] Emerson numbered the stanzas in this draft; but he numbered only twenty-one of them, omitting stanza 17 of the final printed text. His failure to number it may account for its omission from the version printed in *Dwight's Journal of Music* and the *Atlantic Monthly*. Emerson says in his second letter to Mrs. Stearns that he had read this stanza at the Music Hall; it is possible, therefore, that in preparing a copy for publication he did not refer to the copy from which he had read, but went to *EL3* and thus failed to copy the stanza which he had left unnumbered. Emerson may have neglected to number stanza 17 because it is written in two crowded lines at the bottom of page 93 of *EL* and he may simply have missed it in the numbering. The question arises, why did he go to *EL?* My conjecture that he did would coincide with Professor Rusk's that Emerson's letter to his daughter Edith, January 3, 1863, was about "Boston Hymn." If Emerson had "the original copy" of "Boston Hymn" sent to Mrs. Stearns before he had supplied a copy for the printer, then obviously he would have to go to *EL* to make a transcript for publication, and consequently the slip with stanza 17 might occur as I have suggested. One disturbance, however, to this theory is the question: why should Mrs. Stearns want a copy of "Boston Hymn" if she already had the important original? In addition, Mrs. Stearns, in her reply of December 17?, 1863, praises the transcript in such glowing terms that one may doubt her possession of the more valuable "original copy." Finally, it is not likely that Emerson would have to explain the missing stanza (as he does) to Mrs. Stearns, if she already had the perfect copy which he had read at the Music Hall.

[29] In listing the variants I have striven for the completest accuracy and have therefore indicated with enclosing brackets Emerson's crossing out of a word. After its publication in *May-Day* in 1867 "Boston Hymn" (*Complete Works*, IX, 201-204) suffered no revision except slightly in punctuation. There is, furthermore, only one verbal variant in the published texts. *Dwight's Journal* and the *Atlantic Monthly* print "his statue" in stanza 5; *May-Day*, the Riverside Edition, and the Centenary Edition give "the statue." The phrase "his statue" is not found in *EL*. If, as I conjecture, Emerson went to *EL* (see my previous note) to make a copy for publication, he must then have changed "the" to "his" in the copy he sent to the printer. At any rate, in the copy which Emerson wrote for Mrs. Stearns late in 1863 (in the *John Brown Album* already mentioned) the phrase reads "the statue"; and this reading was kept thereafter. It is obvious that the change was made from "his" to "the" to avoid a repetition of "his" in successive lines.

BOSTON HYMN

READ IN MUSIC HALL, JANUARY 1, 1863

The word of the Lord by night
To the watching Pilgrims came,
As they sat by the seaside,
And filled their hearts with flame.

God said, I am tired of kings,
I suffer them no more;
Up to my ear the morning brings
The outrage of the poor.

Think ye I made this ball
A field of havoc and war,
Where tyrants great and tyrants small
Might harry the weak and poor?

My angel,—his name is Freedom,—
Choose him to be your king;
He shall cut pathways east and west
And fend you with his wing.

Lo! I uncover the land
Which I hid of old time in the West,
As the sculptor uncovers the statue
When he has wrought his best;

I show Columbia, of the rocks
Which dip their foot in the seas
And soar to the air-borne flocks
Of clouds and the boreal fleece.

I will divide my goods;
Call in the wretch and slave:

Boston Hymn—*Title: wanting in EL1, EL2:* The Pilgrims *EL3:* Read in Music Hall, January 1, 1863 *first inserted in May-Day and Other Pieces, 1867.*
6 I suffer] I [will] suffer *EL1.*
9 this] the *EL2, EL3.*
10 havoc] blood *EL2.*
14 Choose him to be] Make him for *EL2.*
15 pathways] paths *EL2.*
17 Lo!] *omitted EL2.*
20 wrought his best;] wrot his design *EL2.*
21 I show] *omitted EL1.*
22 their foot] their [broad] foot *EL1.*
23 air-borne] airborne *written above* [cloudy] *EL1:* airborne *EL2.*
24 the boreal] the Protean *written above* misty *or* milky *(word very faint) EL1:* the Protean *EL2:* the Protean (Protean *in brackets and below it* boreal) *EL3.*
25 Leave out the tyrant *EL1.*
26 the wretch and slave:] the poor and the slave *EL1.*

None shall rule but the humble,
And none but Toil shall have.

I will have never a noble,
No lineage counted great;
Fishers and choppers and ploughmen
Shall constitute a state.

Go, cut down trees in the forest
And trim the straightest boughs;
Cut down trees in the forest
And build me a wooden house.

Call the people together,
The young men and the sires,
The digger in the harvest-field,
Hireling and him that hires;

And here in a pine state-house
They shall choose men to rule
In every needful faculty,
In church and state and school.

Lo, now! if these poor men
Can govern the land and sea
And make just laws below the sun,
As planets faithful be.

And ye shall succor men;
'T is nobleness to serve;
Help them who cannot help again:
Beware from right to swerve.

I break your bonds and masterships,
And I unchain the slave:
Free be his heart and hand henceforth
As wind and wandering wave.

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28 And] *omitted EL1.* Toil] toil (*a second version of line, written below the first, reads* And only Toil possess) *EL1.*

29 *Printed version of the line written above* [There shall be no haughty noble] *EL1.*

30 lineage] [tribe] *followed by* lineage *EL1.*

29-32 There shall be never a noble,
No lineage preferred,
Of kings and popes and emperors,
Henceforth speak not a word.
(*followed by printed version of the stanza*) *EL3.*

34 trim] train *EL3.*

44 In church and state] In state, and church, *EL3.*

45 Lo, now!] I will see *EL1, EL2.*

46 govern] rule *EL1, EL2.*

47 below the sun,] on earth below *EL1.*

56 wind] mountain wind *EL2.*

I cause from every creature
His proper good to flow:
As much as he is and doeth,
So much he shall bestow.

But, laying hands on another
To coin his labor and sweat,
He goes in pawn to his victim
For eternal years in debt.

To-day unbind the captive,
So only are ye unbound;
Lift up a people from the dust,
Trump of their rescue, sound!

Pay ransom to the owner
And fill the bag to the brim.
Who is the owner? The slave is owner,
And ever was. Pay him.

O North! give him beauty for rags,
And honor, O South! for his shame;
Nevada! coin thy golden crags
With Freedom's image and name.

Up! and the dusky race
That sat in darkness long,—
Be swift their feet as antelopes,
And as behemoth strong.

Come, East and West and North,
By races, as snow-flakes,
And carry my purpose forth,
Which neither halts nor shakes.

My will fulfilled shall be,
For, in daylight or in dark,
My thunderbolt has eyes to see
His way home to the mark.

59 As] [So] *with* As *in left margin EL3.*
81 I will send men out of the North *EL2, EL3.*
82 as] or like *EL2:* like *EL3.*
83 And] They shall *EL2, EL3.*
84 It shall not fall to the ground *EL2.*
85 fulfilled] [be done] *followed by* fulfilled *EL1.*
86 And what tho it be dark *EL1, EL2 (EL2 has* though).
88 His] An (His *is superimposed*) *EL2.*

THE PRINCE AND THE PAUPER: A STUDY IN CRITICAL STANDARDS

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WITH THE appearance in 1869 of *Innocents Abroad,* Mark Twain established himself as a "funny man," and it was as the work of a funny man that each new book of his was interpreted. While there were occasional comments along the way which revealed a growing appreciation of abilities in Clemens other than that of mere humorist,[1] for the most part there appeared little disposition by critics to take him seriously. But with the publication of *The Prince and the Pauper* in 1881, there sprang up sudden and widespread recognition of unusual qualities in Clemens the writer, qualities which caused many reviewers to express astonishment that such a work could have been written by Mark Twain. Remarked the Boston *Transcript:* "There is little in the book to remind one . . . of the author,"[2] and the *Atlantic Monthly* significantly titled its review: "Mark Twain's New Departure."[3] Howells summarized this attitude when, after dealing with the fictional elements in Clemens's story, he stated: ". . . we have indicated its power in this direction rather than in its humorous side, because this has struck us as peculiarly interesting in the work of a man who has hitherto been known only as a humorist—a mere farceur—to most people."[4]

It will be profitable as a study in the critical standards of the day to inquire what were these "new" qualities in *The Prince and the Pauper* which so pleased the critics, and why the critics liked them. This will be best shown by a consideration of the critical reaction to Mark Twain, not only as fictionist—that is, as writer of description, stylist, architect of plot, and depicter of character—but also as "philosopher."

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[1] For example, E. P. Whipple, in 1876, discussing American humorists, remarked: "S. L. Clemens (Mark Twain), the most widely popular of . . . [American] humorists, is a man of wide experience, keen intellect, and literary culture. The serious portions of his writing indicate that he could win a reputation in literature even if he had not been blessed with a humorous fancy inexhaustible in resource" ("American Literature in the First Century of the Republic," *Harper's Magazine,* LII, 526, March, 1876).

[2] *Transcript,* Jan. 4, 1882, p. 6.

[3] *Atlantic Monthly,* XLVIII, 843 (Dec., 1881).

[4] *New York Tribune,* Oct. 25, 1881, p. 6.

I

Previous to the publication of *The Prince and the Pauper,* there had been little recognition of Mark's talents as a descriptive writer. Occasionally there occurred an appreciative comment,[5] but for the most part attention remained incidental. When some clearer-visioned critic like Howells insisted upon unusual descriptive talents in Twain, his voice rarely found echoes in other reviews. But with the publication of *The Prince and the Pauper,* the majority of critics awoke to a sharp realization of Twain's powerful descriptive gifts. This was reflected not only in the increased attention given in reviews to the descriptive portions of the book, but in the importance accorded those portions. Thus the *Transcript* took note of Twain's "vivid descriptive powers,"[6] and another critic, praising "the skillfully painted background of more subdued and often delicate description," belatedly called the attention of the reader to "the many picturesque passages in 'Innocents Abroad' and 'A Tramp Abroad.' "[7] At the same time the accuracy of Clemens's description was commented on. Said the *Critic:* "It is obvious that Mark Twain has taken considerable pains in bringing the local color of his story into harmony with the historic period in which the action is laid,"[8] and the reviewer in the *Transcript* acknowledged that "the local coloring of the time in which [the story] is laid—that of Edward VI—is carefully studied,"[9] a judgment that was echoed by *Harper's,* which found in the story "a careful regard for the historical accessories."[10] One of the most flattering observations on this aspect of Clemens's writing came from the *Atlantic Monthly:*

> However skillful in invention a writer may be, it is certain that his work loses nothing of effect from a studious harmonization with the period in which it is placed. In *The Prince and the Pauper* this requirement has been scrupulously observed. The details are never made obtrusive, and the "local color" is never laid on with excess; but the spirit

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[5] For example, three years before the publication of *Innocents Abroad,* the *Alta California* newspaper had this to say in connection with Twain's proposed trip to Europe and the Mediterranean: "That his letters will be read with great interest needs no assurance from us . . . his reputation has been made here in California, and his great ability is well-known; but he has been known chiefly as a humorist, while he has no superior as a descriptive writer" (*Alta California,* Dec. 15, 1868). For this item I am indebted to the Mark Twain Society of Chicago.

[6] *Transcript,* Nov. 11, 1881, p. 3.

[7] *Critic,* I, 368 (Dec. 31, 1881).

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Transcript,* Jan. 4, 1882, p. 6.

[10] *Harper's Monthly,* LXIV, 635 (March, 1882).

of the age preceding that of Elizabeth is maintained with just the proper degree of art to avoid artfulness. Critical examination shows that no inconsiderable labor has been given to the preservation of this air of authenticity. . . . It is in every way satisfactory to observe that the material accessories are brought into view with an accuracy that coherently supports the veracity of the narrative. Dresses, scenery, architecture, manners and customs suffer no deviation from historical propriety.[11]

II

It is notable, too, that *The Prince and the Pauper* was the first work of Clemens's in which his ability as a stylist received attention. Most of the reviewers registered not a little surprise at the difference between the former style of Clemens and that exhibited in the new book. The *Transcript,* for example, remarked: "There is little in the book to remind one of the individual style of the author,"[12] and the *Atlantic Monthly* commented similarly: "There is nothing in . . . its style of treatment that corresponds with any of the numerous works by the same hand. It is no doubt possible to find certain terms of phraseology, here and there, which belong to Mark Twain . . . but these are few. . . ."[13]

Many were the complimentary things said about this aspect of Twain's writing. The *New York Herald* praised the "plastic and finished"[14] style of the book; another journal wrote that "all the charm is owing to the sincerity, the delicacy, and the true feeling with which the story is told . . . ;"[15] and the *Transcript,* seeking to describe the style, used the adjectives "vivid" and "natural."[16]

III

Again, *The Prince and the Pauper* was the one book on which most critics were agreed that Twain demonstrated outstanding powers as a constructor of plot. There were, of course, dissenting reviewers. The *Transcript,* for example, remarked that "the highly improbable plot will . . . task the credulity of the most imaginative reader,"[17] but the larger number praised Clemens's achievement. To Howells, *The Prince and the Pauper* was definite confirmation of Clemens's ability as plot architect. He prophesied that the book would come in this respect as a surprise to many:

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[11] *Atlantic Monthly,* XLVIII, 844-845 (Dec., 1881).

[12] *Transcript,* Jan. 4, 1882, p. 6.

[13] *Atlantic Monthly,* XLVIII, 843-844 (Dec., 1881).

[14] Quoted by Paine, *Biography,* II, 718.

[15] *Atlantic Monthly,* XLVIII, 844.

[16] *Transcript,* Jan. 4, 1882, p. 6.

[17] *Transcript,* Nov. 11, 1881, p. 3.

> Like all other romances, it asks that the reader shall take its possibility for granted, but this once granted, its events follow each other not only with probability but with realistic force. The fascination of the narrative . . . [is] felt at once, and increase[s] . . . to the end in a degree which will surprise those who have found nothing but drollery in Mark Twain's books, and have not perceived his artistic sense. . . .[18]

The critic for the *Atlantic Monthly* was inspired by the construction of the tale to point out how remarkably Mark had developed in stature as a writer:

> It will be interesting to watch for the popular estimate of this fascinating book. . . . It has qualities of excellence which [the author] has so long held in reserve that their revelation now will naturally cause surprise. Undoubtedly the plan upon which most of his works have been framed called for neither symmetry, nor synthetic development, nor any of the finer devices of composition. Generally speaking, they serve their purpose without the least reference to the manner in which they were thrown together. . . . Notwithstanding [their merits], they remain the most heterogeneous accumulation of ill-assorted material that ever defied the laws of literature, and kept the country contentedly captive for half a score of years. Now the same public is called upon to welcome its old favorite in a new guise—as author of a tale ingenious in conception . . . artistic in method, and, with barely a flaw, refined in execution.[19]

The *Century Magazine* praised the structure as "an ingeniously formed chain of circumstances,"[20] and the *Critic* pointed out that Clemens deserved commendation for the development of a plot which must have "at every step impressed the author as a fertile theme for extravaganza."[21]

IV

In the same fashion, with the publication of *The Prince and the Pauper* Clemens came newly, as it were, to the attention of critics as a gifted depicter of character. The reviewer in the *Atlantic Monthly* warmly praised Clemens for the latter's achievement in this regard. After describing the two little boys in the story as "one, a bright figure in history, the other a gem of fiction," the critic made these appreciative comments in which he compared Twain's work with that of a pair of famous English novelists:

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[18] *New York Tribune*, Oct. 25, 1881, p. 6.

[19] *Atlantic Monthly*, XLVIII, 845 (Dec., 1881).

[20] XXIII, 784 (March, 1882).

[21] *Critic*, I, 368 (Dec. 31, 1881).

> The characters come and go, live and breathe, suffer and rejoice, in an atmosphere of perfect reality, and with a vivid identity rarely to be found in fictions set in medieval days. The same life-like verisimilitude that is manifest in many pages of Scott, and throughout Reade's *Cloister and the Hearth,* glows in every chapter of this briefer chronicle of a real prince's fancied griefs and perils. To preserve an illusion so consistently, it would seem that the author's own faith in the beings of his creation must have been firm, from beginning to end of their recorded career. . . . The big-hearted protector of guileless childhood is as palpable to our senses as to the grateful touch of the prince's accolade. The one soft spot in the hard old monarch's nature reveals itself to our apprehension as clearly as to the privileged courtiers at Westminster. The burly ruffian of the gutters, the patient, sore-afflicted mother, the gracious damsels of pure estate and breeding, the motley vagabonds of the highway, the crafty and disciplined councilors of the realm, the mad ascetic, and the varied throng of participants in the busy scenes portrayed—all these take to themselves the shape and substance of genuine humanity, and stamp themselves to our perceptions as creatures too vital and real to be credited to fable land.[22]

Howells, in his review, likewise pointed out the unusual merits of the character portrayal:

> The author has respected his material . . . and has made us feel its finer charm in the delicacy and subtlety with which he has indicated Tom Canty's lapse from lively rebellion at his false position to appreciation of its comforts and splendors, and, finally, to a sort of corrupt resignation in which he is almost willing to deny his poor old mother, when she recognizes him in one of his public progresses. . . . The character of Miles Hendon is dashed in with a rich and bold humor that gives its color to all the incidents of their association. . . . The whimsical devotion with which he humors the boy's royal exactions is charmingly studied . . . amidst the multitude of types with which the story deals, he is realized the best; he is first of all thoroughly recognizable as a man; and then as a man of his own time and country—the adventurous and generous Englishman of the continent-hunting age. . . . The effect of prosperity on the mock Prince is, perhaps, more subtly studied than that of adversity on the real Prince . . . but . . . it is this [latter] phase, apparently . . . which the author most wishes [the reader] to remember. . . .[23]

Perhaps no higher commendation was possible than the remark of the *New York Herald:* "The character of [the] two boys, twins in spirit, will rank with the purest and loveliest creations of child-life in the realm of fiction."[24]

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[22] *Atlantic Monthly,* XLVIII, 844-845 (Dec., 1881).

[23] *New York Tribune,* Oct. 25, 1881, p. 6.

V

Finally, not only were reviewers enthusiastic about *The Prince and the Pauper* as Clemens's first artistic work, but they found in the book even more unusual revelations. They discovered that it demonstrated a philosophical side to Twain. The author had proved himself quite capable of dealing with a profound and serious theme. In almost every review one detects the note of surprise over this aspect of the book. The *Transcript* found "a quality so refined and so searching as to excite wonder that it should flow from the same pen as that which wrote 'The Innocents Abroad'. . . ."[25] *Harper's* spoke of the tale as being "charged with a generous and ennobling moral."[26] The critic in the *Atlantic Monthly* found the story "pure and humane in purpose";[27] and the *Century* called the writer of *The Prince and the Pauper* "a satirist and . . . true philosopher."[28] Howells, likewise, found *The Prince and the Pauper* evidence of growth in Clemens:

> The strength of the implied moral [is] felt at once and increase[s] . . . to the end in a degree which will surprise those who have found nothing but drollery in Mark Twain's books, and have not perceived . . . the strain of deep earnestness underlying his humor. Those even who have read him with this perception will recognize an intensified purpose in the human sympathies which have hitherto expressed themselves in some ironical form. The book is in this way an interesting evidence of growth in a man who ought to have his best work before him. The calm of a profound ideal . . . make[s] this a very remarkable book.[29]

And the reviewer in the *Critic* decided with satisfaction that the "finer element" in Mark Twain's nature had at last "hid[den] . . . the humorous vein out of sight."[30]

VI

It appears that the first work on which critics generally agreed that Mark Twain displayed notable abilities as a serious writer and literary artist was *The Prince and the Pauper.* They found the book a praiseworthy departure from his former writing, and they regarded its publication as heralding the advent of a new Clemens. It is time now to ask why this book created such a stir. What were these "new" qualities that so appealed to the critics? Why was it that they ignored a work like *Tom Sawyer* (1876),[31] and poured critical abuse upon the head of Twain when, three years after *The Prince and the Pauper,* his *Huckleberry Finn* (generally acknowledged now as Clemens's finest book) appeared?[32] The answer to these questions may be found in the prevailing critical standards of the day. Reviewers liked the description in *The Prince and the Pauper* because it was "delicate" and "subdued." Even the structure was praised on the ground of being "refined in execution." The characters, too, in *The Prince and the Pauper* were sweeter and more gentle than such rough-and-tumble fellows as Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn. The book dealt pleasantly with a faraway place and epoch, not with the rude, exuberant frontierland of their own times. The story was charged with a "pure" and "ennobling" moral; it might be introduced to any classroom or household without fear of its consequences to the gentle reader, an advantage which could not be held out for either *Tom Sawyer* or *Huckleberry Finn.*[33] In short, critics approved of *The Prince and the Pauper* because, more than any other of Mark Twain's books up to that time, it complied with conventional literary ideals. Works like *Tom Sawyer* or *Huckleberry Finn* puzzled and disturbed the critics; therefore they ignored or denounced them. But *The Prince and the Pauper* was a work reviewers could understand; it fitted in perfectly with the tradition of correctness and imitation—with the genteel tradition; and therefore the critics acclaimed as "new" those qualities in *The Prince and the Pauper* which were actually least original.

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[24] Quoted by Paine, *Biography*, II, 718.

[25] *Transcript*, Nov. 11, 1881, p. 3.

[26] *Harper's* LXIV, 635 (March, 1882).

[27] *Atlantic Monthly*, XLVIII, 844 (Dec., 1881).

[28] *Century*, XXIII, 784 (March, 1882).

[29] *New York Tribune*, Oct. 25, 1881, p. 6.

[30] *Critic*, I, 368 (Dec. 31, 1881).

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[31] Howells, it should be remarked, was almost alone in pointing out the excellences of *Tom Sawyer,* just as he was the sole critic consistently from the beginning to champion Clemens's artistic merits. Yet even Howells felt that Clemens had reached "new" levels with *The Prince and the Pauper.*

[32] See A. L. Vogelback, "The Publication and Reception of *Huckleberry Finn* in America," *American Literature,* XI, 260-272 (Nov., 1939).

[33] *Ibid.*

AVON AND CAVENDER: TWO CHILDREN OF THE NIGHT

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I

LIKE MOST significant and revealing artistic creations, the poems of Edwin Arlington Robinson contain certain unique combinations of emotional symbols, or characteristic images. These are as consistent throughout the work as a whole as are the sudden dynamics of Beethoven or the woodwind tonalities of Brahms. Among the most interesting and suggestive of such symbols is the image of the Light, with its opposite image, the Night.

These images appear both in the earliest of Robinson's poems and in the latest. They characterize the full period of his poetic activity—thirty-nine years, if one regards the dates of the first and last publications. They appear, further, as important values in the Robinsonian "worlds," whether within the golden and forever lost horizons of Camelot, the unidentified landscapes of *Matthias,* or *Talifer,* or *King Jasper,* or the narrow compass of "Tilbury Town." More than that, they suggest a fundamental classification for humanity, voiced in the title poem to Robinson's second publication, *The Children of the Night.* There Robinson stated an imagery and a moral pattern which he was never to abandon:

> Let us, the Children of the Night,
> Put off the cloak that hides the scar!
> Let us be Children of the Light,
> And tell the ages what we are![1]

The former classification, The Children of the Night, suggests man as he is, with the germ of his spiritual failure of the Ideal inherent in his humanity; the latter, The Children of the Light, suggests man as he may become, given the blessing of the Light, and the intellectual control to apply it.

It is, of course, no critical secret that Robinson was primarily interested as a poet in portraying various aspects of human failure.

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[1] *The Children of the Night* (New York, 1910), p. 12.

Clement Wood's remark may be taken to represent a synthesis of critical opinion on the point. Said he, with regard to the failure emphasis, "Failure comes down many roads in this singing; but its coming is sure."[2] Robinson himself admitted his predilection for failure study when he confessed that he was more interested as a poet in those who struggled and failed than in those who succeeded. "There is more there to write about," he said.[3]

The Failures subdivide into many types. They may be classified according to their derivations, as being drawn from the poet's own world of reality, from Arthurian legend, from the classics, from the history of art, religion, politics. So they include the shabby figures who shuffled along Water Street in Gardiner, Maine, or "Tilbury Town"—the miserly Aaron Starks, with eyes "like little dollars in the dark"; or the glittering, mysterious figures of the Richard Corys and Flammondes. There are the heroic enlargements projected upon the Arthurian canvases, Merlin, Lancelot, Arthur and his court. There are the social martyrs, the unheeded prophets, the rejected artists, the genius, acknowledged, yet bitter in his triumph for the human flaw still in him—St. Paul, John Brown, Cassandra, Rembrandt, Shakespeare. There are the hosts of the betrayed, or the "reconciled initiates" of *Amaranth,* pseudo artists who have lived in the half-world of artistic illusion or blindness; or those like Fernando Nash, who sacrifice their artistic integrity to their human folly. There is the philosophical pauper, Captain Craig, who had both "the sun," and an idealized sense of value which could humorously demand "Trombones!" for his funeral march. But rich or poor, eminent or lowly, heroic or mean, whether they move within the doomed environs of Camelot or exist as momentary blots on the smug complacencies of "Tilbury Town," they belong all to the genus Man, who fails of the ideal of spiritual perfection because he is man, hence limited by his mortality.

Nor have the values and implications of the Light image been critically unexplored. Although this paper deals primarily with the image of the Night, a symbol which applies by suggestion, at least, to the majority of Robinson's characters, it is necessary to note briefly several qualities of the Light; for only by determining some specific Light-values may the full import of the Night symbol be discovered, with its particular pertinence in the lives of two extreme examples of darkened vision—Avon and Cavender.

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[2] *Poets of America* (New York, 1925), p. 122.

[3] Rollo W. Brown, *Next Door to a Poet* (New York, 1937), p. 80.

II

Perhaps the richest connotation of the Light image lies in its ultimate powers for man's spiritual transfiguration. Such a concept is implied in the previously mentioned group-classification, the Children of the Light. Of course, as a portrayer of human character and experience, as "the poet of the unattained," Robinson was bound to represent his characters with their mortal and present limitations—as Children of the Night. If their "light" qualities—their ultimate reconciliations to a moral order, their final redemptions—are often merely suggested, rather than explicitly revealed, those qualities still exist. The transfiguration appears in the guise of the character's implied, or stated, rededication to worthy life-values; or, at least, in a reaffirmation of the ultimate values which the particular character has either consistently symbolized or finally comprehended. So the Light concept becomes the final refutation of the accusation of pessimism so often directed against the poet.

The Light permeates, or it does not, the minds and beings of Robinson's characters. By its presence or absence, it creates the peculiar "quality" of the individual's world. Says Mark Van Doren of Robinson and the Light: ". . . [he] sees life in that profound perspective which permits of its being observed from two angles at once. He sees it realistically at the same moment that he sees it ideally. Ideally the world for him is filled with pure white light . . . obviously the most important existing thing to Mr. Robinson."[4]

Philosophical considerations of Robinson by Lloyd Morris and Estelle Kaplan[5] would appear to link the Light to the "inspirational intuition" of transcendentalism, to Schopenhauer, to the Absolute concept of Royce. Although Robinson disclaimed any philosophical endeavor in his poetry, except as it became, in his own words, "a statement of my inability to accept a mechanistic interpretation of the universe and of life,"[6] the line between the Light as a poetic image and the Light as a logical concept is extremely thin, as Miss

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[4] *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1927), p. 30.

[5] Cf. Lloyd Morris, *The Poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1923), and Estelle Kaplan, *Philosophy in the Poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1940).

[6] *Selected Letters of Edwin Arlington Robinson*, ed. Ridgely Torrence (New York, 1940), p. 165.

Kaplan's recent study shows. But in any event, the Light is a basic factor in Robinson's treatment of failure, where it becomes a kind of character reagent, and where, according to their degree of perception of the Light, Robinson's characters fail, socially or spiritually.

As a poetic image, the Light ultimately resolves itself into Truth, Love, Wisdom, or Self-Knowledge. But it may also represent many other attendant qualities, for according to Robinson himself it differed in each case. Said he, in writing of Galahad's light in the poem, "Lancelot": "Galahad's 'light' is simply the light of the Grail, interpreted universally as a spiritual realization of Things and their significance. I don't see how this can be made any more concrete, for it is not the same thing to any two individuals."[7] Again, the Light-value or suggestion often carries over, to appear by implication in the image of blinded or dimned vision, which is frequently basic in explaining a particular type or instance of failure.

It should also be noted that Robinson uses the Light as a natural phenomenon as well as a poetic symbol. Frequently, it is significant in its use as a physical backdrop against which the character's history is enacted. So it is effective for emotional intensification. In the Merlin-Vivian love-idyll there are memorable scenes which glow and pulse in a sheer rhapsody of sensuous, colorful richness. Conversely, there is Tristram in his barren gray world. And there are Avon and Cavender, inhabiting the profound desolation of a spiritual night which knows not one evening star.

Such uses and applications of the Light image already suggest a richer content for its opposite symbol, the Night. Outstanding in the galaxy of Robinson's failures are two characters whose tragedies are enacted in a thoroughly black world. More even than most of the Failures, they may truly be called Children of the Night.

III

Avon's Harvest and *Cavender's House* have much in common. Both treatments are highly psychological in emphasis, in that both reveal the tortures of guilty conscience and the ravages of passion and ignorance. Both Avon and Cavender inhabit dark worlds; for both are blind to the Light, which is for Robinson the only guide out of man's spiritual wilderness.

Avon's tragedy is the greater. He is one of the few characters—

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

perhaps the only major figure—for whom Robinson suggests no redemption. Frequently, as in the case of Fernando Nash, or Matthias, or Roman Bartholow, an ironic or vague spiritual road back appears. It exists by implication even for Cavender, the murderer. But it never exists for Avon.

Avon is the victim of hate, fear, remorse; three diseases, says he, for which "there's no specific." Since early manhood, he has lived in the deepening shadow of these tragic effects of a youthful aversion for another man—an aversion which culminated in his once striking the other. Even as a young man, Avon saw himself as "a light for no high shining." But when his hatred betrays him into an overt act from which he cannot return, his modest light goes quite inexorably out.

For twenty years, then, Avon has walked in darkness, tortured by a conscience that gives him no rest, though he admits to having "driven the wheels too fast" for unneeded gold, and vainly has sought relief in Europe and England. But wherever he goes, the ghost of his sin follows him in the face of the other man, conjured up by memory and conscience, and made concrete by an annual card bearing the other's parting words, "I shall know where you are until you die." There is a brief respite for him when he notes the hated name in a list of the *Titanic* disaster victims. But retribution overtakes him while he sits alone in a Maine cabin; and a little later Avon dies, because, as his physician recognizes:

> . . . he was afraid—
> And he had been afraid for a long time.[8]

As is true of the Light, which represents positive spiritual qualities—faith, courage, knowledge, the capacity to know the truth about oneself and one's fellow men—the Night represents the qualities attendant upon spiritual blindness, the dimmed vision which ignorance creates, and which develops, as it did in Avon, the darker traits of man's nature. Had Avon possessed the Light, he would have been able to view a youthful indiscretion and the object of his aversion in their proper perspective. Normally, he would have seen in the situation at worst a relationship to tax his tolerance and self-control; in the incident of his surrender to sudden passion, an occa-

[8] "Avon's Harvest," *Collected Poems of Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1939), p. 573.

sion for regret and possible atonement. Instead, because hatred is dominant in him, pride is stubborn, and conscience is guilty, hence supersensitive, the deed is rendered increasingly hideous to him, until it assumes pathological significance and becomes the obsession of his life.

Avon cannot retrace his steps to the place or moment where his emotions betrayed him. He cannot weave together again—even if he would—the snapped threads of a human relationship. He can only proceed farther along the shadowed, troubled path which first hate, then remorse, and finally fear set for him. So his world becomes more and more a night of despair whose climactic hour overtakes him in the lonely cabin where he sits surrounded only by his own "black light," out of which a dawn never breaks. Says he, in recalling the situation,

> ...I was in hell,
> ...and I was there alone—
> Alone for the first time since I was born;
> And I was not alone. That's what it is
> To be in hell ...
> All through that slow, long, desolating twilight
> Of incoherent certainties, I waited;
> Never alone—never to be alone;
> And while the night grew down upon me there,
> I thought of old Prometheus in the story
> That I had read at school, and saw mankind
> All huddled into clusters in the dark,
> Calling to God for light. There was a light
> Coming for them, but there was none for me....
> ...Beware of hate,
> And listen. Beware of hate, remorse, and fear,
> And listen. You are staring at the damned,
> But yet you are no more the one than he
> To say that it was he alone who planted
> The flower of death now growing in his garden.[9]
> How long I sat there I shall never know,
> For time was hidden out there in the black lake,
> Which now I could see only as a glimpse
> Of black light by the shore. There were no stars
> To mention, and the moon was hours away

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 566.

> Behind me. There was nothing but myself,
> And what was coming. On my breast I felt
> The touch of death, and I should have died then.
> . . . even the fire was dead,
> And all the life there was was in the shadow
> It made of me. My shadow was all of me;
> The rest had had its day, and there was night
> Remaining—only night, that's made for shadows,
> Shadows and sleep and dreams, or dreams without it.[10]

Thus, shortly before his physical death, does Avon confess the utter futility and horror which life has become for him.

Robinson has never argued more emphatically for the ability to see life truly and see it whole than he did when he created the hate-ridden figure of Avon with his tragic spiritual harvest. Here, the poet who refused to judge men, who often found in abject social failure the "supreme fulfillment unexpressed, the rhythm of God,"[11] appears to have taken a positive stand. It is as if Robinson is saying, "hatred for one's fellow man is the unforgivable sin." For surely the tormented life of Avon is a stringent implication from a poet whose doctrine, says his friend and critic, Louis Ledoux, was "forgiveness through understanding."[12] Avon could never forgive his hated fellow-student; hence he could never be wisely tolerant of him, and the poison of his hatred was retroactive. It is interesting to note here Robinson's spiritual kinship to Hawthorne, another New Englander, who suggests in Ethan Brand a literary brother to Avon. Avon, then, is one for whom no redemption is remotely suggested. His tragedy is darkly forthright, and his world is as black as the ugliest of our human weaknesses may make it.

As usual, Robinson develops the theme against a corresponding physical background. Avon's harrowing hour occurs as he sits alone beside a black lake in a starless and moonless night, wherein all shadows combine to become the Thing which he most fears, and which at last destroys him. There he meets the spirit of the creature that twenty years of anguish and recrimination have created to become his spiritual Nemesis. That meeting represents the final triumph of conscience. After it, there can be only the swift and less significant crescendo of final physical defeat. For spiritually, Avon is already lost. The image of the Night becomes particularly his own, to identify him as perhaps the darkest of the Robinsonian failures.

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[10] *Ibid.*, p. 568.

[11] Quoted in Ben Ray Redman, *Edwin Arlington Robinson* (New York, 1926), p. 52.

[12] Louis V. Ledoux, "Psychologist of New England," *Saturday Review of Literature*, XII, 4 (Oct. 19, 1935).

IV

Although at first glance Cavender's sin might appear greater than Avon's, in that it is more overt and climactic, Cavender's tragedy is actually less complete and harrowing. It is even less prolonged; for while Avon's "night" stretches with growing density over a period of twenty years, Cavender is doomed to acute suffering for only twelve years. Of course, we may surmise that his penance is indefinite in duration, and far-reaching; but we do not actually follow him, as we do Avon, to the end of his straitened way. Moreover, as previously suggested, there yet remains one door for Cavender. To be sure, it is a difficult door, one whose opening requires all of his will, courage, resolution. But it *is* there; while for Avon all doors are barred.

In a moment of passion, Cavender has murdered Laramie, his wife. Doubting her fidelity, he throws her over a cliff. The murder is made to appear suicide, and Cavender is free to travel the world over in an effort to escape his spirit's accusation and doubt. But there is no release, no forgetfulness. After twelve years of wandering and attempt to escape from his guilty knowledge, he returns again to his dark house for a final bout with conscience.

As he enters upon his "night" of anguish, the figure of Laramie rises before him to confront him again, and to judge him, without pity, but also quite without hatred. Over and over he tries to rationalize his deed, putting to her the question which has tortured him ever since his crime: Was Laramie really unfaithful to him? But this she cannot answer; though she assures him that still she may have "some drops of pity" for him.

Cavender has been a man whose success and dominant personality others had envied Laramie; a man, says she,

> To change a woman to a desperation
> And to destroy her when your passion felt
> A twinge of insecurity. . . .[13]

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[13] "Cavender's House," *Collected Poems,* p. 980.

He has been a man of many ways and means, a master of his world; but there were wickedness and waste in his "abused abundance." He has been, furthermore, wrapped up and walled up within himself, lacking the capacity to know the truth about his own nature, and distrusting others. Whether or not, because of her injured pride or fancied neglect, Laramie really was unfaithful to Cavender is a secondary matter. For, he realizes, studying her figure before him, had he seen truer,

> . . . he might, perhaps,
> Have seen there was no evil in her eyes
> That was not first in his. . . .[14]

His initial lack of faith, the suspicion that tends to beget the thing it fears, these have spelled tragedy for both.

Laramie has not come to bring him an answer to still his doubts and to justify his deed. That is beyond her power. She has come, a projection of his own sense of guilt, to judge him, and to assume dynamic significance sufficient to drive him to the one course of moral action still possible for him. He may still tell the law his story. But at present, says she:

> Cavender, you are locked in a dark house,
> Where you must live, or wreck your house to die.[15]

There is nothing for him now but what his "laws and purposes ordain." As Laramie disappears, Cavender realizes that there is this way out:

> . . . There was no more to do
> Or say than to cast out the lie within him
> And tell men what he was. He could do that.
> He could do anything now but go again
> Into that house of his where no man went,
> And where he did not live. He was alone
> Now, in a darker house than any light
> Might enter while he lived. . . .[16]

So Cavender, too, like Avon, is a forthright example of moral failure.

A number of suicides appear in Robinson's poems: Gabrielle, Roman Bartholow's wife; Natalie, Matthias's wife, and Garth, his friend; Nightingale; Honoria, wife of King Jasper. Though in each case other persons may have contributed in greater or less degree to such abject admission of failure in life, those persons are not, nevertheless, overtly responsible for death as is Cavender. Cavender is an acknowledged murderer, because of his inability to read and interpret the facts in the natures and lives of himself and Laramie. Pride, egotism, passion, distrust, above all the moral ignorance in which these previous character faults are rooted, these have created for him a Laramie who may or may not have been the real woman. But Cavender's suspicious mind accepts the image as fact. Having betrayed Laramie spiritually through his distrust and jealousy, Cavender has only to complete his work of devastation and destroy her body. Except for the fact of murder, Cavender might fall into the same category as the other Robinsonian failures. And of course it is true that in a sense he still belongs there, in that others of his literary brothers have also killed the thing they love. But by virtue of his deed, a deed bearing both physical and spiritual consequences, a deed fatally conditioned by a false and introverted judgment, Cavender presents another extreme example in Robinson's wide and varied representation of human folly. He is nonetheless a striking failure in life for the fact that, as previously indicated, some locked doors in his dark house still await his opening.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 970.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 1001.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 1006-1007.

It is not by accident that the action of the poem occurs in an eerie night shot by rays of cold moonlight, an illumination as cold and remote as the meager hope for peace that Laramie offers to Cavender. Constitutionally, Cavender, like Avon, is a creature of the Night of ignorance, passion, overgrown pride. Both are blind dwellers in a world more basically moral than their sealed vision may discern. That world, as Robinson suggests it ideally, is a world of light, wherein the paths to moral action and spiritual significance are the paths of the eternal verities. As Captain Craig puts it,

> For wisdom, courage, knowledge, and the faith
> Which has the soul and is the soul of reason—
> These are the world's achievers. . . .[17]

That world belongs to the Children of the Light and is their creation.

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[17] "Captain Craig," *Collected Poems*, p. 132.

The opposite world, inhabited by the Children of the Night, is mapped by the twisted ways whereon Avon and Cavender have walked to their damnation. Here the signposts bear the names of our timeless moral transgressions against the Ideal. They can lead but to the abyss from which Avon never returns, and from which Cavender must rescue himself by only the most strenuous penance and retribution to society. Whether Cavender avails himself of his one path to peace, remains, however, purely a matter of conjecture.

If the Light, then, is ultimately revealed as Knowledge—of Self, of Good, of Evil—so the Night becomes the all-embracing sin of Ignorance of the often tragic potentialities of our mortal natures, and ignorance of what constitutes moral action. That Ignorance may finally assume one of two forms. It may take, as it did for Avon, the form of complete and irremedial betrayal of Self. It may take, as it did for Cavender, the form of just as complete betrayal of a fellow man. In either case, however, spiritual failure results; and the triumph of Night is established in the devastation of all moral values.

NOTES AND QUERIES

MARK TWAIN'S COMSTOCK DUEL: THE BIRTH OF A LEGEND

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NO DOUBT it is asking too much to expect a bibliographer to appraise the contents of the items he lists. In enumerating Mark Twain's uncollected contributions to periodicals, Merle Johnson[1] duly recorded that *Tom Hood's Comic Annual* for 1873 contains "How I Escaped Being Killed in a Duel." But he said nothing about the content of the sketch, which biographers and critics have generally ignored. Yet the sketch has some biographical interest, not as a record of fact but as explaining the genesis of a Mark Twain legend.

The facts in the case of Mark's challenge of James L. Laird of the Virginia City *Union* have been incontrovertibly established by Mr. Ivan Benson[2] from contemporary newspapers. They differ widely from Mark's own account in the *Autobiography,*[3] and from the stories told in after years by Steve Gillis and other friends of the Nevada days. The 1873 sketch is the obvious source of all these picturesquely inaccurate versions; it therefore merits a brief note on its content, the circumstances of its composition, and the subsequent use which Mark's always erratic memory made of it.

So far as its "facts" go, the early version differs not at all from the story in the *Autobiography:* Laird took offense at something Mark said about him in the *Enterprise,* and replied in kind. Mark sent a challenge which Laird, after some hesitation, accepted. While Mark was practicing unsuccessfully at a target, Steve Gillis, just before Laird's seconds appeared on the scene, shot the head off a sparrow at thirty paces. On Steve's crediting that shot to Mark, Laird called off the duel.

Even the wording of the two versions is frequently similar. The following are typical. The text of the passages from the *Autobiography* is Mark Twain's own as he passed it for print in the *North American Review;*[4] in spots it differs widely from the results of Albert Bigelow Paine's posthumous editing.

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[1] *A Bibliography of the Work of Mark Twain* (New York, 1935).

[2] *Mark Twain's Western Years* (Stanford University Press, 1938), pp. 106-113.

[3] New York, 1924, I, 350-360.

1873 TEXT	1906 TEXT
In the course of my editing, I made trouble with a Mr. Lord, editor of the rival paper. He flew up about some little trifle or other that I said about him—I do not remember now what it was. I suppose I called him a thief, or a bodysnatcher, or an idiot, or something like that. I was obliged to make the paper readable, and I could not fail in my duty to a whole community to save the exaggerated sensitiveness of an individual.	I woke up Mr. Laird with some courtesies of the kind that were fashionable among newspaper editors in that region, and he came back at me the next day in a most vitriolic way. He was hurt by something I had said about him—some little thing—I don't remember what it was now—probably called him a horse-thief, or one of those little phrases customarily used to describe another editor. They were no doubt just, and accurate, but Laird was a very sensitive creature, and he didn't like it.
We went to a little ravine just outside of town, and borrowed a barn-door for a target—borrowed it from a gentleman who was absent—and we stood this barn-door up, and stood a rail on end against the middle of it, to represent Lord, and put a squash on top of the rail to represent his head. He was a very tall, lean creature, the poorest sort of material for a duel—nothing but a line shot could "fetch" him, and even then he might split your bullet.	At four we went down into a little gorge, about a mile from town, and borrowed a barn door for a mark—borrowed it of a man who was over in California on a visit—and we set the barn door up and stood a fence rail up against the middle of it, to represent Mr. Laird. But the rail was no proper representative of him, for he was longer than a rail, and thinner. Nothing would ever fetch him but a line shot, and then, as like as not, he would split the bullet—the worst material for dueling purposes that could be imagined.

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[4] CLXXXIII, 1224 ff. (Dec. 21, 1906). The earlier version appears on pp. 90-91 of *Tom Hood's Annual* for 1873. Cf. my article, "The Uncollected Portions of Mark Twain's Autobiography," *American Literature,* VIII, 37-46 (March, 1936).

. . . when they saw the bird, Lord's second said: "That was a splendid shot. How far off was it?" Steve said with some indifference: "Oh, no great distance. About thirty paces." "Thirty paces! Heavens alive, who did it?" "*My* man—Twain." "The mischief he did! Can he do that often?" "Well—yes. He can do it about—well—about four times out of five."	And when Laird's second saw that bird, with its head shot off, he lost color, he faded, and you could see that he was interested. He said: "Who did that?" Before I could answer, Steve spoke up and said quite calmly, and in a matter-of-fact way, "Clemens did it." The second said, "Why, that is wonderful! How far off was that bird?" Steve said, "Oh, not far—about thirty yards." The second said, "Well, that is astonishing shooting. How often can he do that?" Steve said languidly, "Oh, about four times out of five!"
It is every man's duty to do everything he can to discourage dueling. I always do now: I discourage it upon every occasion. If a man were to challenge me *now*—now that I can fully appreciate the iniquity of that practice—I would go to that man, and take him by the hand, and lead him to a quiet retired room—and kill him.	I have never had anything to do with duels since. I thoroughly disapprove of duels. I consider them unwise, and I know they are dangerous. Also sinful. If a man should challenge me now, I would go to that man, and take him kindly and forgivingly by the hand and lead him to a quiet retired spot, and *kill* him.

The *Autobiography* version was, according to Paine's note, dictated in New York on January 19, 1906. The 1873-version was presumably written in London while Mark was lecturing there during the fall of that year. The latter fact gives the clue to the whole affair. The subject of the second series of lectures, which began in late November, was "Roughing It on the Silver Frontier"[5]—the same lecture, based upon *Roughing It,* which Mark Twain had already given many times and with huge success in America. The text of that lecture has never been printed, but it is safe to assume that Mark was too good a showman not to include in it episodes and anecdotes which were not in the book. The public would rightly expect from a lecture something more than oral repetition of stories they had already seen in print; Mark would therefore unquestionably supplement such comic high spots as the "Mexican plug" with other yarns in the same vein.

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[5] A. B. Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York, 1912), p. 496.

Presumably, then, "How I Escaped Being Killed in a Duel" was one of these additional anecdotes. In composing it, Mark would have had no compunctions about its literal truth. *Roughing It* never claimed to be factual autobiography; the humorist was free to add any sort of embroidery which was good for a laugh. These were the literary adventures of Mark Twain, not the literal adventures of Samuel L. Clemens. Any reader who took them seriously did so at his peril.

No more than the author himself were Steve Gillis and other friends of the Comstock days inclined to let dull fact spoil a good story. The sketch in *Hood's Annual* was a much better story than the inglorious events which had actually occurred, and lent itself easily to repetition as those events grew dim. The extent of the *Annual's* first-hand circulation in this country is unknown, but the anecdote must have been widely reprinted in the newspapers.[6] The similarity of all the later versions is proof enough that they stem from this single source.

Those other versions, as we have seen, include Mark's own in the *Autobiography*. The sketch, indeed, is chiefly interesting for the light it sheds on the mental processes behind much of the autobiographical dictation of Mark Twain's old age. By 1906 he had been a lecturer, after-dinner speaker, and general entertainer for forty years. During all that time he had habitually used his own experiences, past and present, not as history but as the raw material from which to construct humorous anecdotes and parables. Their sole aim was literary effect, and some of them, especially those which had formed parts of his lectures, had been repeated to audiences scores and even hundreds of times.

When he began to dictate, he was still addressing an audience, though it consisted only of Albert Bigelow Paine and a stenographer. Unconsciously, inevitably, he shaped his utterances into literary form. He had honestly forgotten the original facts, and remembered only his fictional development of them. This must have been especially the case with anecdotes, like this one of the duel, which he had used over and over again on the platform in the remoter past. When he began to dictate, the needle of his subconscious memory slipped immediately into the familiar groove of the old record and reproduced not only the story itself but much of its original wording. The author of the *Autobiography,* in short, was not Samuel L. Clemens; it was Mark Twain, public entertainer and literary person.

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[6] It appeared in *The Spirit of the Times* (New York), XCI, 146 (March 18, 1876). I have not located any other reprints, but there must have been many.

DOSTOIEVSKY ON EDGAR ALLAN POE

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THE INFLUENCE exercised by Edgar Allan Poe on the Russian literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries deserves more attention than it has hitherto been given. At least two of Poe's pre-eminent characteristics, his *psychological* subtlety and his fantastic *realism* (or realistic fantasticalness), are intrinsically akin to the Russian mind. The Russian masters of the short story, such as Chekhov and Andreev, have known Poe and studied his technique. Yet still more significant is the early acquaintance of Feodor Mikhailovich Dostoievsky with the work of Poe. Proof of the latter's deep interest in Poe is the preface which he wrote to the Russian translation of three stories from Poe published in his magazine, *Wremia,* in 1861, calling the attention of Russian readers to the then still scarcely known American poet.[1] The article is signed as an editorial, but Dostoievsky's authorship of it, like that of many other contributions published by him anonymously in the same magazine, founded and actually edited by him from 1861 to 1863, has been conclusively demonstrated.[2]

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[1] *Wremia* (Time), I, 230 (1861); reprinted in Dostoievsky's *Complete Works,* ed. Grossmann, XXII, 232. Translated are the stories: "The Tell-Tale Heart," "The Black Cat," and "The Devil in the Belfry." A translation of "The Narrative of A. Gordon Pym" appeared in Volume II of *Wremia.*

Dostoievsky's *Wremia* altogether paid much attention to the contemporary political and social affairs in the United States, in view of the then raging Civil War. Besides Poe, it published in translation one of Longfellow's "Poems on Slavery" (I, 1861); a detailed article on the condition of the Negroes in the United States (II, 1861); a similar article on Mormonism, and a survey of the political situation in the United States (VI, 1861); and a translation of Richard Hildreth's "Memoirs of a Fugitive" (VIII, 1862).

[2] Cf. Dostoievsky's *Complete Works,* ed. Grossmann, XXII, and Vladimir Astrov, *Ne Nashli Puti* (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 99 and 281.

Strangely enough, Dostoievsky's remarks on Poe, so far as I can learn, have escaped the attention of the Poe scholars, and of the Dostoievsky scholars as well.[3] And yet, they seem in many respects noteworthy. It may be questioned, of course, whether Dostoievsky's brief analysis betrays a full understanding of Poe's unique individuality and his place in world literature. Dostoievsky lays the main stress on Poe's singular synthesis of unfettered imagination, keen psychological penetration, and unparalleled mastery of realistic detail. He misses in him, however, the spiritual power of true idealism, in contrast with the great representative of the later German Romanticism, Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann (1776-1822), to whom Dostoievsky as well as Poe was artistically much indebted. Poe seems to him too "capricious" and earth-bound ("material," says Dostoievsky).

One who knows Dostoievsky will little wonder that he was attracted by Poe's bent for the irrational and weird in the human mind, or for the morbid and bizarre in human life. More than that, Poe's definition of poetry as "creation of beauty—supernal beauty" and of the task of the prose tale "to produce effects of horror, terror, passion"—comes very close to Dostoievsky's own artistic program. Actually, Dostoievsky was more akin to Poe than to Hoffmann, or rather to the idealized conception of Hoffmann as set forth in Dostoievsky's article on Poe. All his lifetime Dostoievsky craved the artistic power to embody the ideal and the beautiful, to present "positive types" (to use his own language), but he yearned in vain.[4] He was one of the greatest analysts of the spiritual crisis of his time; he was not the revealer of new and higher ideals.

At any rate, Dostoievsky's article shows how deeply impressed he was by Poe. In creative minds, impressions of that kind easily stir productive impulses that are slumbering in the depths.

Take, for instance, the following, small yet characteristic detail. There appeared in the same issue of the *Wremia* another and likewise anonymous contribution by Dostoievsky, called "St. Petersburg Dreams in Verse and in Prose," containing a very remarkable autobiographical sketch which tells the inner story of his spiritual and artistic evolution. In the course of his narrative, Dostoievsky mentions the fact of his long imprisonment in Siberia, to which he had been condemned for the political and social ideas of his youth, and whence he had returned not long before. But eschewing a direct allusion (risky in view of the censorship!) he speaks cryptically of a *journey* he meantime has taken *to the moon.* "Today I painfully recollect all this, and yet I know that a marriage with Amalie would have ended in unhappiness. What would have become of Schiller, the freedom, the barley-coffee, the sweet tears, the dreams, and of my voyage to the moon? . . . Because, you know, gentlemen, I have in the meantime travelled to the moon. . . ." Was not this figure a reminiscence of Poe's story of the passage to the moon ("The Unparalleled Adventures of One Hans Pfaal") which Dostoievsky mentions in his article on Poe? The articles were written nearly simultaneously, and there is no other explanation for the rather surprising allegory.

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[3] See, for instance, A. Yarmolinsky, "The Russian View on American Literature," *Bookman*, XLIV, 44 (Sept., 1916).

[4] See Vladimir Astrov, *Seelenwende, Die Geisteskämpfe der Neuzeit im Spiegel der russischen Literatur* (Freiburg in Br.: Niels Kampmann Verlag, 1931), pp. 532-541.

It would be interesting, furthermore, to collate the scene in *Crime and Punishment,* the first great novel written by Dostoievsky after the censorship had silenced his magazine, where Raskolnikov is lurking behind the door of his intended victim, with the analogous situation in Poe's "The Tell-Tale Heart." The psychological ratiocination as applied by the examining magistrate, Porfiry Petrovich (in the same novel), has much more of Poe's Monsieur Dupin than of the methods practiced by the real magistrates in those days. And Svidrigailov's representation of Eternity as a Russian bathroom "blackened by smoke, with spiders in every corner," or his vexation over his deceased wife who appeared to him, but "talked nonsense," are of the same kind of realistic fantasticalness which Poe used in so masterly a fashion.

So we are likewise involuntarily reminded of Poe when we read Dostoievsky's theory of the psychological effects of nervous disease:

Dostoievsky (in *Crime and Punishment*): "People will tell you, 'You are ill: hence, what appears to you is nothing but a vision, the results of delirium.' But this is not logical reasoning. I admit that apparitions only happen to the sick; but that proves that, in order to see them, one must be sick, and not that they are not in existence. . . . A healthy man . . . is, above all, a material man. . . . But let him get ill, let his normal physical organization get out of order, then, forthwith becomes manifest the possibility of another world. . . ."

Poe (in "The Tell-Tale Heart"): "True!—nervous—very very dreadfully nervous I had been and am; but why will you say that I am mad? The disease had sharpened my senses—not destroyed—not dulled them. . . . I heard all things in the heaven and in the earth. I heard many things in hell. Now, then, I am mad?. . . ."

The text of Dostoievsky's article on Poe follows:

THREE TALES OF EDGAR POE

Two or three stories by Edgar Poe have already been translated and published in Russian magazines.[5] Here we present to our readers three more. What a strange, though enormously talented writer, that Edgar Poe! His work can hardly be labeled as purely fantastic, and in so far as it falls into this category, its fantasticalness is a merely external one, if one may say so. He admits, for instance, that an Egyptian mummy that had lain five thousand years in a pyramid, was recalled into life with the help of galvanism. Or he presumes that a dead man, again by means of galvanism, tells the state of his mind, and so on, and so on. Yet such an assumption alone does not make a story really fantastic. Poe merely supposes the outward possibility of an unnatural event, though he always demonstrates logically that possibility and does it sometimes even with astounding skill; and this premise once granted, he in all the rest proceeds quite realistically. In this he differs essentially from the fantastic as used for example by Hoffmann. The latter personifies the forces of Nature in images, introduces in his tales sorceresses and specters, and seeks his ideals in a far-off utterly unearthly world, and not only assumes this mysterious magical world as superior but seems to believe in its real existence. . . . Not so Edgar Poe. Not fantastic should he be called but capricious. And how odd are the vagaries of his fancy and at the same time how audacious! He chooses as a rule the most extravagant reality, places his hero in a most extraordinary outward or psychological situation, and, then, describes the inner state of that person with marvellous acumen and amazing realism. Moreover, there exists one characteristic that is singularly peculiar to Poe and which distinguishes him from every other writer, and that is the vigor of his imagination. Not that his fancy exceeds that of all other poets, but his imagination is endowed with a quality which in such magnitude we have not met anywhere else, namely the power of details. Try, for instance, yourselves to realize in your mind anything that is very unusual or has never before occurred, and is only conceived as possible, and you will experience how vague and shadowy an image will appear before your inner eye. You will either grasp more or less general traits of the inward image or you will concentrate upon the one or the other particular, fragmentary feature. Yet Edgar Poe presents the whole fancied picture or events in all its details with such stupendous plasticity that you cannot but believe in the reality or possibility of a fact which actually never has occurred and even never could happen. Thus he describes in one of his stories a voyage to the moon, and his narrative is so full and particular, hour by hour following the imagined travel, that you involuntarily succumb to the illusion of its reality. In the same way he once told in an American newspaper the story of a balloon that crossed the ocean from Europe to the New World, and his tale was so circumstantial, so accurate, so filled with unexpected, accidental happenings, in short was so realistic and truthful that at least for a couple of hours everybody was convinced of the reported fact and only later investigation proved it to be entirely invented. The same power of imagination, or rather combining power, characterizes his stories of the Purloined Letter, of the murder committed by an orangutan, of the discovered treasure, and so on.

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[5] Previously there had been published in Russian magazines the following stories from E. A. Poe: "The Unparalleled Adventure of One Hans Pfaal" under the heading: "The Dutch Aeronaut" (*Otechestvennyia Zapiski*, 1853); "A Descent into the Maelstrom" (*Biblioteka dla Chtenia*, 1856); and "The Oblong Box" (*ibid.*, 1857).

Poe has often been compared with Hoffmann. As we have said before, we believe such a comparison to be false. Hoffmann is a much greater poet. For he possesses an ideal, however wrong sometimes, yet an ideal full of purity and of inherent human beauty. You find this ideal embodied even oftener in Hoffmann's nonfantastic creations, such as "Meister Martin" or the charming and delightful "Salvator Rosa," to say nothing of his masterpiece, "Kater Murr." In Hoffmann, true and ripe humor, powerful realism as well as malice, are welded with a strong craving for beauty and with the shining light of the ideal. Poe's fantasticalness, as compared with that, seems strangely "material," if such expression may be allowed. Even his most unbounded imagination betrays the true American. To acquaint our readers with this capricious talent we present meanwhile three of his tales. (The Editor).

BRONSON HOWARD'S *THE AMATEUR BENEFIT*

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ANOTHER OF "America's Lost Plays" has come to light: it is Bronson Howard's *The Amateur Benefit,* a typescript copy of which is to be found in the Library of Congress. This play is not mentioned in any of the standard histories of the American drama;

there is no reference to it in *In Memoriam;* nor does its title appear in *The Banker's Daughter and Other Plays by Bronson Howard,* edited by the present writer. The typescript for each of the three acts of the play is bound and paged separately, with the following wording on the title page: The Amateur Benefit / An Entertainment / in / Three Acts / by / Bronson Howard / 1881. There is also a copyright stamp on the title page, bearing the date June 29, 1881.

There can be no doubt that the play is genuine. If the copyright evidence were not sufficient, it could be pointed out that the style of the play is typical of Howard for the period in which it was written;[1] that there are notes, to a prospective manager, bearing Howard's name; that the typing style is similar to that in other Howard scripts; and that the manager addressed produced one of Howard's other plays, *Fun in a Green Room.* Although this manager, Nathan Salsbury, had the play under consideration, it is probable that he never produced it, for there is no record of its performance in Odell's *Annals of the New York Stage,* in Tompkins's and Kilby's *The History of the Boston Theatre,* or in Farquharson's *A Short History of the English Stage* (which lists the London productions of *Brighton* and *Young Mrs. Winthrop*).

The cast of characters in the play is as follows:

Captain Harry Opdyke, U. S. A.,—On leave and off duty
The Rev. Ernest Duckworth,—On duty without his leave
Mr. Booth McC. Forrest,—A Heavy Tragedian lightly treated
Miss Kitty Plumpet,—A born actress, with a special line, and a man at the end of it
Mrs. Camilla Westlake,—The model young widow—born, like the poet—she can't be made

Act I is set in Mrs. Westlake's drawing room, luxuriously furnished; the action consists of a few episodes from a rehearsal for an amateur performance. Act II is set on the "stage of the theatre as at a morning rehearsal. Backs of scenes. Flats and wings askew." This is a slapstick act consisting largely of the confusion, noise, inanities, hurt feelings, and ludicrous mishaps of an amateur stage rehearsal. Act III is the production of the show itself, "Faun-of-the-Glen, or The

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[1] The overuse of pointed parallelisms in wording, actions, and scenes is to be found, for example, in *Hurricanes* (1878).

Civilized Indian—A Society Drama," which has for its setting a Daliesque combination of a woodland scene and some "very elegant drawing-room furniture." The third act Howard labels a Burlesque and appends a note as to the way it should be acted: "It is *absolutely essential,* for the proper effect of the burlesque, that it be acted with as much *earnestness* and *seriousness* throughout—so far as the spoken lines are concerned—as if it were a play of real life. . . . Play it as a genuine society drama throughout."

The main purpose of *The Amateur Benefit* is to satirize amateur theatricals;[2] but because of its own jejune quality, the satire sometimes has a boomerang effect. Act II anticipates *The Torchbearers* in topic, though not in technique; the satire on the government's handling of the Indian problem is well marked; and there are a few thrusts at the financial robber-barons of New York, thus introducing a theme elaborated six years later by Howard in *The Henrietta.* Though *The Amateur Benefit* is not intrinsically important, its discovery helps to complete the Howard record.

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[2] In a "Plan of a Proposed 'Part First,'" Howard included the following: "Have Harry Opdyke [a character in the play] apologize away everything . . . thus satirizing the general amateur habit of making numerous apologies. . . ."

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. Dissertations on Individual Authors:

E. Melius Christiansen: His Life and Work as a Norse Contributor to American Culture. Leola M. Nelson (Iowa).

Stephen Crane. Reese D. Frescoln (Pennsylvania).

Stephen Crane's Treatment of War. Wilson L. Heflin (Vanderbilt).

Mollie E. Moore Davis: A Critical Biography. C. W. Wilkinson (Illinois).

Theodore Dreiser: A Critical and Biographical Study. Robert H. Elias (Pennsylvania).

The Mind and Art of William Dunlap. Charles Getchell (Wisconsin).

A Biographical and Critical Study of Oliver Wendell Holmes. L. Moffatt Cecil, Jr. (Vanderbilt).

Henry James: The Middle Years—a Study of James and His Development from 1886 to 1897. George A. Finch (New York University).

Mark Twain's Hartford Years. Kenneth Andrews (Illinois).

Peter Markoe (1753-1792): Philadelphia Writer. Sister M. Chrysostom (Catholic).

Cotton Mather and Rational Theology. John Portz (Harvard).

Art and Allegory in the Work of Herman Melville. Gordon H. Mills (Iowa).

William Morris and W. D. Howells as Social Critics. William F. Ekstrom (Illinois).

John Moshier, Publisher. Keith Huntress (Illinois).

Studies in the Fiction of Frank Norris. J. Kerker Quinn (Illinois).

A Critical Biography of John Blake White. Emily Bradsher (Pennsylvania).

II. Dissertations on Topics of a General Nature:

American Left-Wing Literary Criticism since the World War. Sally Marcia Loomis (Chicago, History and Culture).

The American Traveler in England, 1865-1900. Robert C. LeClair (Pennsylvania).

Concepts of the Ideal Commonwealth in American Literature. Ellene Ransom (Vanderbilt).

A Critical History of Catholic Literary Criticism in America. Edward J. Drummond (Iowa).

Cultural Relations between Finland and America, 1638-1938. Kanko Ernest Moykkynen (Harvard).

The Educational Content of Some Leading Literary Periodicals, 1850-1900. John C. Hepler (George Peabody).

Federalist and Democrat in American Literature. Edward F. Grier (Pennsylvania).

Folk Song in Southern New Jersey. Herbert Halpert (Indiana).

The French Language Press in the United States. Paul L. Miller (Virginia, Romance Languages).

German Backgrounds of American Transcendentalism: Prolegomena to the Study of Influence. John H. C. Groth (University of Washington).

New England Popular Tales and Legends. Richard M. Dorson (Harvard, History).

Phases of Proletarian Fiction. Walter Rideout (Harvard).

The Rise of the Nineteenth-Century Southerner as Portrayed in Biographies. Mary C. Owen (George Peabody).

The Slave Question in the German Novel at the Time of the American Civil War. Leroy H. Woodson (Catholic, German).

A Study of the Folk Songs of the Cumberlands. Bess Alice Owens (George Peabody).

The Theater in Colonial Virginia. Robert Hunt Land (Virginia, History).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

America in the 1880's: A Bibliographical Study of Intellectual and Cultural Development. Stephen A. McCarthy (Chicago, Library Science, 1941).

The American Attitude toward American Literature during the Years 1800 to 1812. Thomas J. Tracy (St. John's, Brooklyn, 1941).

The American Realistic Theater of the Late Nineteenth Century. Jonathan Wadhams Curvin (Cornell, Dramatic Production, 1941).

An Analysis of Early Geography Textbooks from 1784 to 1840. John Rankin Sahli (Pittsburgh, Education, 1941).

The Ante-Bellum Southwest, 1815-1861. John L. Harr (Chicago, History, 1941).

Antislavery Opposition to the Annexation of Texas, with Special Reference to John Quincy Adams. Josephine Lumpkins (Cornell, History, 1941).

Arthur Rimbaud and Hart Crane: An Essay in Influence and Parallels. Margaret Foster (Ohio State, 1940).

Ballads and Songs of Indiana. Paul G. Brewster (Indiana, 1940).

A Biography of Joseph G. Baldwin. Samuel Boyd Stewart (Vanderbilt, 1941).

A Canon of the Critical Works of Edgar Allan Poe with a Study of Poe the Magazinist. William Doyle Hull (Virginia, 1941).

Changing Trends in the Nature of Literary Works by and about the Pennsylvania Dutch. Earl Francis Robacker (New York University, 1941).

Commissary James Blair, Churchman, Educator, and Politician of Colonial Virginia. Samuel R. Mohler (Chicago, History, 1940).

A Comparative Study of the Development of Skills in Plot Construction by a Group of Living American Dramatists. Marian Hesse Gallaway (Iowa, Speech, 1941).

A Comparison and Criticism of the Educational Philosophies of Plato and John Dewey. John Milton Smith (Iowa, Philosophy, 1941).

A Cultural History of Nashville, 1815-1825. Guy Miles (Vanderbilt, 1941).

Cycles in the Department of the Dramatic Arts. Earle Ernst (Cornell, Drama and Theater, 1940).

Daniel Webster's Theory and Practice of Public Speaking. Glen Earl Mills (Michigan, Speech, 1941).

Das deutsche Buch in Amerika. Uebersetzungen der Jahre 1918-1935. Hans Frese (Marburg, 1937).

The Development of Higher Education for Women in Virginia William Hall Cato (Virginia, Education, 1941).

The Diary of Randal William McGavock, 1852-1862 (An Interpretation of a Period). Jack Allen (George Peabody, Education, 1940).

The Education of Henry Adams: A Critical Estimate. Robert Arthur Hume (Cornell, 1940).

Esthetics and the Modern Theater. Paul Leon Soper (Cornell, Dramatic Production, 1941).

The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict (1862-1890). Rev. Robert Joseph Dwyer (Catholic, History, 1941).

The German Dialect of York County, Pennsylvania. J. W. Frey (Illinois, German, 1941).

The German Drama on the New Orleans Stage. Arthur Henry Moehlenbrock (Iowa, German, 1941).

A History of the Philadelphia Theater, 1878-1890. Thomas Frederic Marshal (Pennsylvania, 1941).

A History of the Theater in Boston to 1815. Mary Ruth Michael (Radcliffe, 1941).

A History of the Theater in St. Paul from the Beginning to 1890. Frank M. Whiting (Minnesota, Speech, 1941).

The Oratory of Andrew Johnson. Joseph Baccus (Wisconsin, Speech, 1941).

Pamphleteers and the American Revolution in Virginia, 1752-1776. Glenn Curtis Smith (Virginia, History, 1941).

Political and Economic Ideas in American Utopian Fiction, 1868-1914. Margaret Wilson Thal-Larsen (California, 1941).

Public Speaking in Utah, 1847-1869. Halbert Spencer Greaves (Wisconsin, Speech, 1941).

The San Francisco *Bulletin,* 1855-1865: A Study in the Beginnings of Pacific Coast Journalism. John D. Carter (California, 1941).

Sarah Helen Whitman, Seeress of Providence. John Grier Varner, Jr. (Virginia, 1941).

A Study of the Cross-section Novel Written in English since 1915. Roberta Margaret Grahame (Minnesota, 1940).

A Study of the Educational Philosophy of William Torrey Harris. John Ross Kinzer (George Peabody, Education, 1940).

The Theater of Southwestern Mississippi to 1840. Joseph Miller Free (Iowa, 1941).

IV. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

Charles R. Anderson, The Johns Hopkins University, is engaged in a study of "The Cultural History of Charleston, South Carolina, 1800-1865."

Mrs. Fannie Hardy Eckstrom, Brewer, Maine, has completed "Indian Place-Names of the Penobscot Valley and the Maine Coast," published as one of the *University of Maine Studies.*

Dr. Gilbert Malcolm Fess, University of Missouri, has completed a study of "The American Revolution in Creative French Literature (1775-1937)," published as Volume XVI, *University of Missouri Studies,* No. 2.

Dr. Jesse May McFadyen, University of Minnesota, is engaged in a study of the history of the theater in Colorado from 1876 to 1910.

A Centennial Edition of the Works and Letters of Sidney Lanier (1842-1881), in nine volumes, is now in preparation for publication by the Johns Hopkins University Press late in 1942. Information leading to the discovery of letters, manuscripts, and other Lanier material will be greatly appreciated by the editor, Charles R. Anderson, Box 1236, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.

RAYMOND ADAMS, *Assistant Bibliographer.*

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BOOK REVIEWS

THAT RASCAL FRENEAU: *A Study in Literary Failure.* By Lewis Leary Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press. 1941. x, 501 pp. $5.00.

This is not only the definitive biography of Freneau, but also a bibliography (pp. 418-480), based on years of careful search in rare newspapers, which adds greatly to the corpus of his work. The biography is in full accord with the best scholarly standards of the genre. It is inductive and objective. Mr. Leary has not allowed himself to be perverted by any of the a priori or doctrinaire methods such as those to which the Freudians or Marxians are addicted. He began painstakingly by assembling all the facts in a case where not too many were known; then, avoiding oversimplification or writing to a "thesis," he lets them speak for themselves in a smooth-flowing, pleasingly written narrative; he does not warble his native footnotes wild, disrupting the story, but has them "securely kennelled in the rear"—forty-three pages of them! Equally well balanced is Mr. Leary's method of bringing Freneau himself and his vivid backgrounds, current events, and successive environments into happy juxtaposition. He not only knows Freneau but he knows his time and place and contemporaries. He has "tried not to make too neat a parcel of Freneau's mind" (p. x)—a mind which I have called elsewhere "a bundle of apparent contradictions."

Mr. Leary says rightly that "No writer of the time has left a clearer or more sympathetic picture than Freneau of the vicissitudes of a journalist during the early years of the American republic" (p. 289). And he has done well, I think, to organize his chapters mainly on the basis of Freneau's various editorships so that we follow his poems of romantic fancy and his political writings in their actual historical contexture and in their relation to the journalistic conditions and events of the day. Mr. Leary must have done an immense amount of work locating Freneau's writings, and also references to him, in the many contemporary newspapers, although of course some of this was done earlier by Professor F. L. Pattee (to whom, oddly, Mr. Leary does not express any thanks in his Preface). The book should interest not only literary students but also students of political and social history, for it presents a mass of fresh evidence, drawn from contemporary newspapers, regarding the sharp conflicts of the time between the Jeffersonians and the Hamiltonians over financial-agrarian issues, social customs, the French Revolution and its complicated aftermath, and the triumphant struggle for the election of Jefferson. Although the idea of Freneau's failure (which is a relative matter) may be somewhat exaggerated at times, it is in line with his own somewhat wistful and emotional view of his efforts in the face of opposition, and it serves an artistic purpose in giving the book as a whole a certain unity of tone and of theme. Freneau emerges as an appealingly human figure of generous sympathies and somewhat utopian hopes, struggling—as he felt in vain—against poverty, political opposition, the hostility of critics, and the indifference of a utilitarian public to pure poetry.

Mr. Leary has brought together considerable fresh evidence bearing on Freneau's literary theories and aims both as poet and journalist—see pages 78, 84, 94, 101, 104-105, 124, 136-140, 146, 150, 153, 156-157, 295-296, 328, 340. And he has done well in assembling contemporary critical comments on Freneau's poetry, comments which reflect the taste of the day. The work also contains ample evidence to refute those who imagine that he was not a hard-hitting satirist and a fighter for democratic ideals readily capable of "truculent scurrility" (pp. 237, 113, 216, 284). Mr. Leary also refutes those who imagine that Jefferson had absolutely nothing to do with either the establishment or the conduct of the *National Gazette*. (See *American Literature,* VIII, 180-189, May, 1936; in contrast Jefferson's *Writings,* ed. Ford, V, 336, and Madison's *Writings,* I, 569-570; and Leary, pp. 186-189, 208, 212-214, 244-245, 259, 316, 389.) Mr. Leary says Hamilton "came close to the truth" (p. 212) when he charged that, though Jefferson had kept himself in the background, "a particular *friend* [Madison] of that officer" had "openly urged, advised, and influenced" Freneau to accept his position in the office of the Secretary of State as a means of publishing a newspaper opposed to the administration which paid him. And he concludes (p. 389) that "Jefferson's connection as adviser to the editor of the *National Gazette* must necessarily be suspected . . . ," and that "his appointment to a clerkship in the Department of State was a political blunder for which both he and Jefferson have been made to pay" (p. 245). This much-debated problem is handled with admirable fairness and objectivity and all the relevant documents are candidly cited and sifted.

Mr. Leary has availed himself of the privilege of a biographer and bibliographer in not going into some interesting problems which lie beyond his province and which do not admit of definite solutions. He thinks, and rightly no doubt, that in the last analysis Freneau was not so much a thinker as a sort of unstable compound of emotions. In one place (p. ix) he says "he was not a political philosopher," but later (p. 363) he says "his poetry . . . often became little more than a paraphrase of the radical political philosophies of the late eighteenth century" and that, especially after 1797 "Reason became more than ever before the catchword of his political and social philosophy" (p. 281). And he shows how ardently he championed the political and religious philosophy of Tom

Paine, to whom ideas surely meant something. He admits that Freneau was strongly deistic, although he does not attempt to show the logical articulation of deistic ideas and his ideas regarding poetry or politics. He shows (p. 281) that Freneau was one of ten men who sponsored lectures by the extremely radical deist, Elihu Palmer, that he was a member of Palmer's Deistical Society and printed his addresses. Mr. Leary finds transience, death, and decay "Freneau's ever-absorbing theme" (p. 51). On the whole, it may be said, I think, that the new evidence presented tends to reinforce rather than to modify the generally accepted interpretations of Freneau's thought. One can hardly help regretting that, considering his wealth of knowledge, Mr. Leary had not "purposely avoided speculation on Freneau's . . . relation to any literary movement" (p. x), for, in view of the fresh interpretations by Lovejoy, Crane, Jones, *et al.*, of eighteenth-century thought, and the problems of the transition from uniformitarianism to diversitarianism, from Puritanism to Deism, from classicism and neoclassicism to romanticism, Freneau's precise place and significance in the midst of these complex trends offers a fascinating problem for interpretation. But after all, a biographer and bibliographer has some privileges!

There are fewer technical errors than one usually finds in so long and detailed a book—which, by the way, is beautifully printed and bound. On page 233, in the second line of the last paragraph, read "suggest" for "suggested." On page 235, middle, for "Whatever favours of . . . mystery" read "savours." On pages 131 and 79 there are sentences which are not quite idiomatic, and the spelling of Ovid's work on page 411 may be questioned. Page 471 says there are only eight libraries having copies of *Letters on Various . . . Subjects* (1799); according to the American Imprints list there are fourteen. On page 324 the *Port-Folio* is placed in New York; it should be in Philadelphia. In a work which is so exhaustive in every other way it seems a pity that there should be no bibliography of the scholarship about Freneau. But of course the more important studies are referred to in the notes. But enough of such trivialities! On the whole the work is masterly in accuracy and it is a model of biographical and bibliographical scholarship, executed with fine spirit and fine taste.

University of Wisconsin. HARRY HAYDEN CLARK.

THE ENGLISH NOTEBOOKS BY NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Based upon the Original Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library and Edited by Randall Stewart. New York: Modern Language Association of America. 1941. xliv, 667 pp. $6.00.

In 1932 when *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne* appeared, Mr. Stewart had accomplished the first scholarly work in book form to be done on Hawthorne. Since that time, his edition of *The American Notebooks* has been the textbook of all Hawthorne scholars. The excellence of his editing and the splendid critical introduction to *The American Notebooks* stand as an example of scholarship that is enviable.

To this volume has now been added *The English Notebooks,* an even greater task, for they contain more than three hundred thousand words and are concerned with a foreign country. That this country is now our ally and the object of our admiration and anxiety, makes the appearance of his volume particularly timely. And with it no one can deny that Mr. Stewart has added to his reputation as a scholar and enhanced that of Nathaniel Hawthorne. The years that Hawthorne spent in England are at last before us in full and varied panorama, and his reaction to England and its people is unchanged by his own and Mrs. Hawthorne's editing.

For again the greatest changes in the text of the English notebooks were those made by Mrs. Hawthorne when she published them in 1870. Because of her affection for her husband and her misguided regard for his reputation, and because she was an ardent devotee of the Genteel Tradition, Mrs. Hawthorne succeeded again in effectively emasculating her husband's journals as she had in editing *The American Notebooks*. Such behavior is understandable, albeit deplorable, but what is more incomprehensible is that she should write in the Preface to her volume: "The Editor has transcribed the manuscripts just as they were left, without making any new arrangements or altering any sequence—merely omitting some passages, and being especially careful to preserve whatever could throw any light upon his character." The present editor has not only indicated the variety and numbers of revisions and omissions that Mrs. Hawthorne made, but has classified them into their several categories. Mr. Stewart's chapter on Mrs. Hawthorne's revisions makes it abundantly clear to the prospective reader that while much of the material is not new (for Hawthorne, also, used some of the material in *Our Old Home*), it is now put before the reader for the first time as it was written. It must be added, too, that the chapter closes with a defense of Mrs. Hawthorne's procedure, and an appreciation of the great amount of work she accomplished. The most charitable reaction that this reviewer could muster, after realizing the extent of her changes, was that Mrs. Hawthorne meant well. To the reader, therefore, Mr. Stewart's defense of his predecessor seems the more temperate and laudable.

The second chapter of the editor's Introduction, "Hawthorne in England," is the first detailed analysis to be published of Hawthorne's reaction to England. In none of the biographies of Hawthorne can such a logical and considered description be found of his mingled feelings about England. As a patriotic American, his anger and his patriotism were aroused by the actions of the people he met, and by the contemptuous and harsh criticisms of Americans and their customs by the newspapers and periodicals of that period. His admiration and love for England were aroused by his responsiveness to the beauty of the English countryside and landmarks, and his awareness of the relationship which exists between America and England and which led him to entitle his book *Our Old Home.* These two contrasting feelings in Hawthorne aroused in him a mental conflict which bothered him the rest of his life. The greater part of the work which he did, after the publication of *The Marble Faun,* concerns itself with England and with this mixed reaction.

The journals themselves are a particularly vivid and detailed picture of English life almost a century ago, and a meticulous description of many places which have either been the objects of Nazi airmen or may well be in the months to come. The many portraits and sketches of people who exist now in books of history and literature on our bookshelves as seen through the eyes of a shrewd Yankee provincial who had always been interested in people, are in themselves reason enough for the reappearance of *The English Notebooks.* For it was in her revision of her husband's descriptions of his English contemporaries that Mrs. Hawthorne most excusably and most sweepingly exercised her editorial discretion. But not only the Tennysons, the Disraelis, and the Royal Family held Hawthorne's attention. The common people of England who gather still in the neighborhood pub were as much the object of his interest and more the object of his sympathy. In this respect the American Consul at Liverpool had not changed much in the thirty years that had elapsed since he had made his summer excursions over the length and breadth of New England, stopping to pass the time of the day with whomever he happened to meet.

The romanticism of those long-ago summers apparently returned to the middle-aged American as he wandered over the English countryside, viewing those scenes he had long dreamed of. It was the English landscape, England's great cathedrals (though *not* their ritual!) and literary shrines that aroused in him the pride and feeling of kinship that made him regard England as "Our Old Home." He thought of the first Hawthorne, William, who had come from this land; and often, he said, when he visited a place, he had "a singular sense of having been there before."

The impression that Hawthorne leaves of himself after one has accompanied him during his English sojourn, agrees, more or less, with Mr. Edward Mather's opinion in his recent biography. It is that of an intelligent but provincial American, who views his surroundings with the perspective of a small-town dweller. Although his observation was keen and his judgment shrewd and thoughtful, nevertheless Hawthorne's thinking was affected by his Salem upbringing. In spite of the fact that he did not get along with his townsfolk, Hawthorne never felt at home anywhere else, except possibly at Raymond, Maine. His Salem grandfather had fought the British in the Revolution, and an uncle had served in the War of 1812; a naval battle of that war took place off the shores of Marblehead, and Salem was one of the chief sufferers in the trade slump brought about by the war. It was with this background that Nathaniel Hawthorne viewed the habits and habitations of the English people. It is understandable that his reactions would be mingled.

In any event, this new edition of *The English Notebooks* is fully as important in evaluating and understanding their author as its predecessor has been. It, too, will become a textbook for Hawthorne scholars; and the final volume, *The Italian Notebooks* with which Mr. Norman Holmes Pearson of Yale is now occupied, will complete the picture of Nathaniel Hawthorne.

This review would not be complete without at least a word about the footnotes. Perhaps all that is necessary to say can be summed up in the observation that the notes are as informative and useful as the text itself. For any student of Hawthorne, or for any adequate library, *The English Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne* is a necessary acquisition.

University of Maine. MANNING HAWTHORNE.

THE WRITINGS OF MARGARET FULLER. Selected and Edited by Mason Wade. New York: The Viking Press. 1941. xi, 608 pp. $5.00.

THE LIFE OF MARGARET FULLER. By Madeleine B. Stern. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1942. xvi, 549 pp. $3.75.

As a companion volume to his recent biography Mason Wade has brought together as much of Margaret Fuller's writing as can profitably be included between two covers. This reprint of work long unavailable he characterizes as "an attempt to rescue Margaret Fuller the writer from the obscurity and neglect to which fate and the attentions of her friends and relatives have brought her." He is referring to the "unpardonable liberties" taken with her letters and diaries by her first biographers, and to the further serious intrusions of her brother, who in editing her remains freely altered and cut the text to suit his notions of propriety. Mr. Wade states that his text, "wherever possible, is as Margaret Fuller wrote it, not as others remade it," though punctuation and spelling have been modernized except in the section made up of her correspondence.

Miss Fuller's first original book, *Summer on the Lakes* (1844), is presented to us "stripped of some of its forays and excursions." In plainer terms the editor has supinely accepted the abbreviated version prepared after the author's death by the Reverend Arthur B. Fuller. It may not be generally realized that this version tacitly omits about *two fifths* of the book as first printed (98 pages out of 256), besides making frequent stylistic revisions amounting at times to the rewriting of whole sentences. The excisions have effectually transformed a characteristic transcendental miscellany into a more coherent and readable travel book, but at the cost of destroying a part of the original impact of the work. To see the book for what it really was, an uncertain and haphazard predecessor of Thoreau's *Week*, it is still necessary to turn to a first edition. In this instance Mr. Wade has not done any rescuing worth mentioning.

The feminist classic, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845), was not tampered with by the family editor, and Mr. Wade includes the whole tract without change.

There follows a section made up of thirteen critical papers chosen from the more than two hundred book reviews and miscellaneous articles that Miss Fuller contributed to various periodicals before her departure for Europe. Since a considerable part of her reputation rests on the claim that she was, next to Poe, the best practicing critic of her time, it is a pity that more space could not be given to this aspect of her work. Moreover, as Mr. Wade truly remarks, "Much of her best critical work has remained buried in the files of the periodicals to which it was contributed." Of this buried treasure he has unearthed only two small specimens (less than 4 pages out of 180). It would appear by his own showing, therefore, that Mr. Wade has here missed an opportunity to save a portion of Miss Fuller's work from unmerited neglect.

Because of limitations of space only token representation could be given to Miss Fuller's translations from the German by the inclusion of her preface to Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe* (1839). It is worth noting, however, that Higginson considered her translation of Bettina Brentano's *Günderode* "perhaps the best piece of literary work that she ever executed." This booklet of 1842 certainly remains the hardest to get at of all her writings.

The news letters written to the *Tribune* during the time of the Roman Revolution are adequately represented by a selection of nineteen, in whole or in part, out of thirty-three. Much documentary material here quoted at length might well have been eliminated by a discerning editor. Mr. Wade has used the text edited with small verbal changes by Arthur Fuller. The originals are lost, but the versions printed in the *Tribune* would have brought him a step closer to what Margaret Fuller actually wrote.

The final section consists of twenty-five personal letters, a mere drop from the torrent of correspondence that gushed from Miss Fuller's pen. Mr. Wade asserts that he has chosen "letters newly discovered, previously unpublished, or radically revised from the originals when previously printed." This claim is only partly justified, since at least eight of the letters selected may be found elsewhere in print, either entire or with slight omissions. But the remainder of the material constitutes a genuine addition to the letters hitherto available, or an accurate copy for the first time available in print, and for that we should be duly grateful.

The existence of Mr. Wade's selections from Margaret Fuller will not preclude the editing of a volume of her remains chosen more for scholarly use than for popular appeal. Such a book should give the greatest possible emphasis to her critical papers and should seriously face the problem of salvaging as much as can be saved from the wreck of her diaries and correspondence.

Miss Stern's biography of Margaret Fuller has better hope of reaching a popular audience than any conceivable selection from her writings, since Miss Fuller was at best a second-rate author, but very nearly if not quite a first-rate personality. Nothing that has survived from her pen even begins to explain what her contemporaries thought of her. One and all attributed to this ungainly woman a pertinacity in stimulation that few intellectuals of the time possessed. She made Emerson laugh more than he liked, an achievement in itself. She annoyed Poe. She fascinated Alcott and impressed Greeley. She was alert to all the movements of mind in her section of the United States and opened doors to impulses from overseas. She was intimately concerned for the Indians of the prairies, the prostitutes of New York, and the revolutionists of Italy. Her biography is an index of the 1830's and 1840's.

The method of Miss Stern's book is synthetic and is consciously borrowed from Van Wyck Brooks, who gives it his blessing. She does not attempt a psychic dissection of her subject. Miss Fuller has already been subjected to both phrenological and Freudian analysis, with much stir and little wool resulting. Neither does Miss Stern concern herself with literary criticism or intellectual history. Her whole attempt is to make Margaret Fuller live again as a dynamic, evolving creature, to show her in her surroundings, and reveal her in countless scenes and attitudes, with her pupils, her friends, her lovers. The book is the fictional portrait of a very astonishing lady, built up on a basis of fact, witness the huge bibliography appended. It is a beautiful piece of imaginative reconstruction, and will probably remain the most graphic of the many lives that have been written or may yet be written about the Cambridge bluestocking. It offers to readers a highly alluring approach to the era of "the Newness." Above all, it portrays a multifarious, inconsistent, yet intensely vital personality in such detail that all its facets are successively brought to the light, while all the time its inmost secrets, like those of the carbuncle that Margaret Fuller considered her emblem, remain a mystery and a wonder.

Amherst College. GEORGE F. WHICHER.

ROBERT DALE OWEN: *A Biography.* By Richard William Leopold. Harvard Historical Studies, Volume XLV. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1940. xiii, 470 pp. $4.50.

Upon Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877) fortune bestowed the fatal gift of versatility. He attained contemporary prominence in social reform, in politics, and in literature; but no single achievement of his possessed the quality that makes fame enduring. The House of Representatives was the highest political arena Owen was able to reach; his practical achievements as a reformer in the fields of women's rights and education have been obscured by the inaccuracies of popular history; his poetic drama and his novel are deservedly unread; and even his most serious essays and tracts have proved ephemeral. Worst of all, his versatility often produced the appearance of inconsistency or insincerity, and Robert Dale Owen did not lack critics who called him pliant and a trimmer.

Against the grosser charges this admirable biography by Richard W. Leopold is a full defense. The author sees clearly the historical forces that acted upon his subject, and he traces the modification of Owen's views with a thoroughness and insight that make unnecessary any assumption of dishonorable motives for Owen's often startling changes of opinion. These inconsistencies appear as the cumulative consequence of a multitude of decisions on minor questions. If there was a futility about Owen's career as a whole, it was of the sort that results from many small choices and tiny compromises, such as any man is frequently called upon to make. In bringing Owen to life, as a man comprehensible to other men, Dr. Leopold has accomplished the most difficult artistic task of a biographer.

Biography is not identical with history, of course, and Dr. Leopold has quite properly devoted considerable attention to local political contests and issues that were significant in Owen's own career but hardly affected the main currents of national history. In the end, of course, the biographer is still obliged to see his man in true historical proportions. This Dr. Leopold does, resisting the subtle temptation—particularly strong in the case of secondary personages—to add a few inches to his subject's stature.

The balance and objectivity of this study rest upon firm foundations of detailed scholarship. There is no aspect of Owen's career which this biographer has not investigated for himself and documented from original sources, hostile as well as friendly. As a consequence, Dr. Leopold has produced not only a definitive biography, worthy of the John H. Dunning

Prize which the American Historical Association has awarded it, but also a series of important contributions to the history of the various movements with which Robert Dale Owen was associated. The chapter on New Harmony, for example, though only twenty-three pages in length, renders obsolete the interpretations (but not necessarily the amassed detail) of the various earlier studies, some of them of book length. Furthermore, Dr. Leopold's compact but rich bibliography, with its critical essays on the literature of a number of different movements, will be frequently and profitably consulted by students of other aspects of American life in the Middle Period.

Columbia University. ARTHUR E. BESTOR, JR.

HENRY JAMES: *Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes.* By Lyon N. Richardson. New York: American Book Co. 1941. cxxii, 490 pp. $1.50.

It is a great convenience to have brought together in one handy volume three of James's masterly critical essays ("Turgenev," "Zola," and "The Art of Fiction"), and three of his fascinating literary portraits ("Hawthorne," "Emerson," "George Eliot"), not to mention the vast ineptitude of his early review of Whitman's *Drum-Taps,* and seven of his short stories. It is perhaps a pity that so many of the stories in this selection should be devoted to the subject of artistic craftsmanship, three out of seven having to do with the art of writing and two with painting. But this, of course, would lend itself to the inculcation of James's esthetic ideals and theories, providing of course that these selections are supplemented by the reading of some of the novels and of short stories, like "Daisy Miller," "The Pension Beaurepas," "The Pupil," or "The Turn of the Screw," which are less tarred with the literary brush. No novel could of course be included, and that is the chief objection to adding James to this "American Writers Series," which lends itself so much better to a poet like Bryant, an essayist like Emerson, or a writer of tales like Poe.

This volume is lavishly supplied with bibliographies for the more advanced student, and with an informative introduction, in which the editor touches on the most important points in James's life, themes, literary ideals, technique, and philosophy. What most detracts from the value of the book is the editor's peculiar style in his contributions and the looseness of some of his general statements. In the last analysis the two objections reduce themselves to one, for apart from a certain mannered overelaborateness of expression, the infelicities of style result mostly from want of precision. Thus in the sentence: "Such analyses do not consider the positive qualities of Henry James; they are rather evidences of vexations arising in the minds of certain readers," etc. (p. xii), the author has evidently not reflected that analyses are not persons and cannot consider anything, and that both *evidence* and *vexation* are abstract words of the sort that cover many instances and would go much better in the singular. When he says of James's grandfather that he "soon turned himself to the processing of tobacco and salt and to acquiring real estate, later extended his interests to Albany, Utica, Syracuse, and New York" (p. xviii), he seems to make the towns a series opposed to the tobacco, salt, and real estate, as if tobacco could not be processed in Utica, and salt in Syracuse, and real estate acquired in New York. When he says, "as a critic James's growth was progressively discerning" (p. xxxv), he clearly means not that James's *growth* was *discerning,* but that he grew progressively more discerning as a critic. When he speaks of women as being "led far from the proper province of women's place" (p. lxxiii), he means simply "far from their proper province." He has not sufficiently thought out the implications of his figure of speech. He has not thought out the implications of the word *intercontinental* when he speaks of James's "intercontinental residence" (p. xvi), unless he means that James resided in a boat.

The trouble is that looseness of expression is so likely to go with looseness in thinking. Mr. Richardson says of "The Middle Years": "The narrative method is that of the omnipotent author, but there is much literary autobiography likewise" (p. 488). Let us assume that by *omnipotent* author he means *omniscient,* a familiar term in discussions of fiction; for it is too hard to imagine what an omnipotent author might be or do. However, it is not true that the method of "The Middle Years" is that of the omniscient author as that term is ordinarily understood; it is a perfectly clear case of point of view limited to that of a character in the story (Dencombe) but with the story told in the third person as is most common with James even where the point of view is so limited. But supposing for the sake of argument that the point of view *were* that of the omniscient author, that would be in no way incompatible with the inclusion of much "literary autobiography," as is implied by the use of the adversative "but." Again, Mr. Richardson says, "It is clear that James assumed that evil springs from psychical disturbances" (p. xxii). He must mean, of course, that James *sometimes* represents evil as occasioned by psychical disturbances; James certainly does not assume that evil regularly has such an origin. If that were the case, it would wreak havoc with Mr. Richardson's thesis that James is a great exponent of the freedom of the will (p. lxxxviii). On this subject of the freedom of the will, the argument is confused. As he says himself, "'The Turn of the Screw' implies lack of freedom of the will and the contagion of depravity" (p. lxxxiv), whereas in his strong characters "James best illustrates freedom of the will" (p. lxxxviii). The difficulty arises from confusing the philosophical doctrine of free will (on which we are at liberty to differ as much as we like) with the universally recognized truth that some people have strong wills and others weak (with no presumption in either case of either freedom or necessity) and the equally well known truth that anyone may be affected by good and bad influences in his environment (again without presumption as to freedom or its opposite). I see no reason to think that James's representation of good and bad characters, strong and weak characters, was meant to have any bearing whatever on the philosophical problem of free will and necessity. Equally far-fetched is the notion that James's characters illustrate "the law of compensation" or "the law of retribution" (p. lxxxviii). With everyone else James liked to see mean people defeated and fine characters triumphant—though it is also true that he had a perfect obsession with noble self-sacrifice as the proper role of his more idealistic characters. But why burden the simple innocence of James with the pretentious Emersonian doctrine of compensation or the grim theological doctrine of retribution?

That James so regularly gave the center of the stage to men and women motivated by a high and scrupulous sense of honor, that fine points of honor play so large a part in his plots, and his people are so largely chosen from levels where the grosser, the ordinary passions are not in play, is enough to throw out of court the contention that he should be labeled a realist. He may have been "convinced that the novel was the best form of art to represent the whole truth of life" (p. xxxiii). But that in his own work he offers anything like a representation of the whole, or even the typical, truth of human nature is something that no one can suppose for a moment who has read three volumes of his fiction. Nor does the phrase "psychological realist" do much to mend matters. The early realists thought that "psychology" was a danger to realism because it gave so much scope to mere sentiment and went so far beyond the verifiable in behavior. James was psychological if that means a concern for character and the subjective accompaniment of action; and as a serious artist he did his best to make his characters consistent and give coherence to the pattern of their thinking. But if "psychological" implies a disposition to "go behind" what the characters thought and felt and explain their motivation in terms of general psychological laws, including the principle of rationalization, then he is as little psychological as it is possible for a serious artist to be.

The fact is that the utmost tact and discrimination are required in the application of labels like these of realist, romanticist, and psychological. In the first place they need more rigorous definition than is generally given them, and more regard for literary history. And then—well, then, the sensitive thinker is apt to find that such terms are often irrelevant to the question at issue, or too gross for adequate description of the literary phenomenon, and likely to spread darkness rather than light. Literary scholarship is unfortunately condemned to the use of many abstract terms. But we shall get nowhere if we are not prepared to exercise the utmost care in the employment of a language that is dangerous just in proportion to the specious air it has of being scientific.

University of Minnesota. JOSEPH WARREN BEACH.

MARK TWAIN'S LETTERS TO WILL BOWEN: *"My First, & Oldest & Dearest Friend."* Edited by Theodore Hornberger. Austin: The University of Texas. 1941. 34 pp.

The modesty of this brochure in paper covers belies the significance of its contents. Sixteen in all, these letters cover the period from May 7, 1866, to June 6, 1900. Thirteen of them are here printed for the first time. Taken together, they afford an insight into the real Mark Twain as he revealed himself to Will Bowen, with whom he had cut the capers immortalized in *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn.* It was "Bill" Bowen into whose bed Sam Clemens, aged ten, crept to catch the measles so as to "end . . . suspense and settle this matter one way or the other and be done with it." Bill, like Sam, learned the twelve hundred miles of "villainous river" between St. Louis and New Orleans from Horace Bixby, who recalled that when Bowen came abroad he had "a Testament in his pocket, but in a week's time he swapped it for a deck of cards." The letters record Mark Twain's sorrow at the news, sent by Bowen in 1866, of the demise of piloting on the Mississippi and of the "departure of the greatness" once attaching to the Pilots' Association.

Only one temporary break occurred in the long-continued friendship. Mark Twain had the same trouble with Will Bowen that he had with his brother Orians. Both were addicted to what Mark Twain considered "sham sentimentality, the sort of rot that deals in the 'happy days of yore,' the 'sweet yet melancholy past,' with its 'blighted hopes,' and its 'vanished dreams'—and all that sort of drivel." So, when Will Bowen wrote in 1876, somewhat hypochondriacally, about his personal losses and reverses, Mark Twain advised him to stop being sixteen, and urged him to live up to his age of forty-one—to put a stop to "the dreaminess, the melancholy, the romance, the heroics, of sweet but sappy sixteen." To get rid of this "belly-ache," he prescribed "a dose of salts." "As to the past, there is but one good thing about it, & that is, that it *is* the past—we don't have to see it again."

Several passages in others of the letters suggest that Mark Twain often forgot his own advice to his old friend about the past. During the period when he was working toward *Tom Sawyer* and ***Huckleberry Finn,*** his letters contain numerous nostalgic reminiscences and references to "the old days that will never come again," and in 1900 he wrote, "I should greatly like to re-live my youth, & then get drowned."

Other passages suggest that the conventional view of Mark Twain as developing his "sorry creed" only in his old age may need revision in the light of his professing, as early as 1866, to the belief that "*all* men—kings & serfs alike—are *slaves* to other men." That is to say, these letters do not quite bear out the usual view of a carefree correspondent and globetrotter taking a gay plunge into life while making good-natured fun of it. The hilarious note is there, to be sure: he confesses to getting "tight" and "not caring a damn whether school keeps or not," and to having in general "a merry hell of a time" on his newspaper assignment in the Sandwich Islands. But he also writes of "Cares and hardships" which "we may not escape . . . it is not possible—but we may swindle them out of half their puissance with a stiff upper lip."

Bowen advised marriage. "Marry be d——d," replied Mark Twain. "I am too old to marry. I am nearly 31. I have got gray hairs in my head. Women appear to like me, but d—n them, they don't *love* me." But four years later he wrote to tell his "old Shipmate" that he had married "the most perfect gem of womankind that ever I saw in my life—& I will stand by that remark till I die."

One of the most interesting of the letters for students of Mark Twain is that of February 6, 1870, which records a number of the episodes in the boy-life of Sam Clemens and Bill Bowen used in *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn.* First published privately in 1938, by the Book Club of California, from a copy, the authentic text (taken directly from the manuscript) becomes now more readily available than it has been. Professor Hornberger's notes to this letter (as to the others) are a model of good editing.

University of Wisconsin. HENRY A. POCHMANN.

OPINIONS OF OLIVER ALLSTON. By Van Wyck Brooks. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc. 1941. 309 pp. $3.00.

Van Wyck Brooks has recently twice interrupted his vivid and adroit recreation of the mood and behavior of periods of American literature: in 1941 he published his 1940 address *On Literature Today* and in the same year a book in which the thesis of this address was amplified in the guise of a set of journals of one Oliver Allston edited by Mr. Brooks. Chronologically, however, these publications may be viewed rather as a sequel to *New England: Indian Summer,* which carried the story to 1915, since the two books recently published deal with the literary tendencies—not merely of New England, to be sure—of the period from 1915 to the present.

The wide audience reached by *Opinions of Oliver Allston* is to be accounted for largely through the popular success of the author's books on New England. Only by this impetus can one explain the willingness of readers to endure the feebleness of the first sixteen chapters, nearly two thirds of the volume. The attention received by the book has, however, a second cause: the vigorous arraignment of most contemporary writing in Chapters XVII-XXII, which enabled journalist reviewers to regard the book as sensational.

Mr. Brooks's thesis is that, instead of indulging in a negative attitude toward life or retreating to the ivory tower of the coteries, the American writer should speak from his region and country and to the healthy generality of men.

A negative attitude was intensified by the first World War, which caused the writers of the ensuing years to become even "more cynical, hard-boiled, hard-bitten." "It seemed as if the most powerful writers, from James Joyce to Hemingway, from Eugene O'Neill and Theodore Dreiser to Eliot of *The Waste Land,* were bent on proving that life is a dark little pocket." "Even where, as in many cases, these writers were fighting for social justice, they pictured life as hardly worth the trouble." Exceptions were such positive writers as Frost, Sandburg, and Mumford, who "believed in man, in the destiny of humankind, because through this faith alone the race has endured."

Gifted in technical virtuosity, many of the negative writers were also members of estheticist coteries. Decadence set in with Poe and the Symbolists; the later coterie-writers represented a cultural lag, were only "ashes of the eighteen-nineties, aside from the one matter of technique." Gertrude Stein "tried to empty literature of emotional content, or, one might say, literary content." Those who plied the "new criticism," with Eliot as their guardian angel, "evaded the whole world of values." Proust pictured the world as "sick, as sad, vain, useless, and putrescent." James Joyce "settled down complacently in his 'snot-green' world." "Ezra Pound's Odyssey touched at every known shore and found no men who had not been turned into swine; and the heroes of most of the others were gunmen or moral cripples, human jelly-fish or hobbledehoys." In sum, the bepraised writing of our time is the work of "one-eyed writers, sickly adolescents, self-centered and neurotic, inexperienced persons, divorced from the soil, divorced from their country, often, and from parenthood and love, ignorant of the general life, with no horizon beyond their noses or the spiritual slums in which they live. They are besotted egoists, one and all, stewing in their vanity, throwing dust in the eyes of their readers, mystagogues and swindlers."

This will never do; Mr. Brooks, in such passages, is inciting blind prejudice rather than encouraging critical discernment. The tone, the method, are deplorable. Yet the positive standards to which he refers everything are to be respected. Literature should be "primary literature." Literature should follow the trunk, not get out on a branch. It should express health not sickness, the "life-drive" not the "death-drive." It should have as its themes "courage, justice, mercy, honor, love." It should be the work of popular voices, voices of the people (not of self-conscious highbrows), as the greatest literature has always been, because the people possess centrality. It should be based on the perception that "certain elements in men are constant," as "all the sages of all the races and all the ages" have agreed. It should be the work of writers determined to find a way to excellence even in an unpropitious age, for "great writers are creators who create in the teeth of all excuses." All this is salutary.

At the close of the book Mr. Brooks remarks that literature has, properly, three dimensions, breadth, depth, and elevation. As a critical writer, he himself may be said to have considerable breadth—a considerable area of awareness—but to be wanting in depth and elevation, though he earnestly seeks them.

University of Iowa. NORMAN FOERSTER.

THE INTENT OF THE ARTIST. By Sherwood Anderson, Thornton Wilder, Roger Sessions, and William Lescaze. Edited, with an Introduction, by Augusto Centeno. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. 162 pp. $2.50.

THE INTENT OF THE CRITIC. By Edmund Wilson, Norman Foerster, John Crowe Ransom, and W. H. Auden. Edited, with an Introduction, by Donald Stauffer. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. 147 pp. $2.50.

The assembling of two symposia on the arts is a worthy but a discouraging task, for a symposium is presumably to be judged by its success in discovering a diversity and then reconciling it into at least a firm framework of unity. In the subjects of these two books, diversity is not difficult to discover. Their success in establishing rational unities is more dubious.

Let it be said first that the artist, however much he may protest that his allegiance is to an impersonal social or philosophical ideal, is inescapably an individual, and that the process of creation in art tends to develop rather than to suppress his individuality. Nor is the critic of art exempt from these necessities, for he must partake of the character and function of the artist or he is temperamentally alienated from his material. If this principle be questioned, the substance of these two volumes would provide sufficient documentation, and there is no noticeable difference on this point between the two. Even those contributors like Norman Foerster, John Crowe Ransom, Thornton Wilder, and Roger Sessions, who most nearly approach the impersonal and objective in their theories, are in their own writing intense individualists.

The aim of rational unity in a symposium on art is foredoomed to failure. In spite of the parallel titles and similar quartering of the proposed problems of the two volumes, no two contributors use the same or kindred styles, start from the same or related premises, organize their material on one pattern, or reach conclusions which are at all comparable. In the first, Mr. Wilson presents a cursory history of his own brand of historical criticism, Mr. Foerster earnestly argues for an ethical substance in judgment, Mr. Ransom constructs an exposition of a self-contained critical method, and Mr. Auden persuades the reader that democracy is a healthier esthetic climate than is fascism. In the second, Mr. Anderson offers forty delightful pages on how it feels to be Mr. Anderson, Mr. Wilder lays down a few crisp rules for the construction of a play, Mr. Sessions makes understandable the transition from primitive to sophisticated music, and Mr. Lescaze, in Socratic mood, convinces a mythical Fred that functionalism in architecture is a creed worthy of propagation for the health of our national life. Messrs. Centeno and Stauffer in each case contribute a stimulating fifth paper in which, among speculations of their own, they hint at the framework which was constructed by the originators of these symposia and rather weakly indicate how their unruly brood might have behaved if they had not been artists. The reviewer, in spite of all this debate on law and order, is forced to the most execrable form of impressionism in confessing that he liked best Mr. Anderson's and Mr. Ransom's quite unlike contributions, that he was challenged most by Messrs. Lescaze and Auden, that he found Messrs. Foerster and Sessions a bit on the heavily academic side, and that Messrs. Wilson and Wilder seemed quite convincing but a bit thin.

For their diversity, therefore, these books offer a genuine reward to anyone who has attempted to create or to think about art in any of its forms, and perhaps in this fact alone lies their unity. Individualism, as Goethe, Whitman, Shelley, and many another romantic has discovered, provides its own basis for unity, albeit on a somewhat mystical plane. The artist in his splendid isolation is brother to his fellow man insofar as the esthetic experience is shared. These books prove, if nothing else, that the use of schools in art and in criticism lies not in their ability to formulate an esthetic norm but in their power to prick the esthetic consciousness until the red blood flows. Let us have more such symposia.

Swarthmore College. ROBERT E. SPILLER.

THE SECRET DIARY OF WILLIAM BYRD OF WESTOVER, 1709-1712. Edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling. Richmond: The Dietz Press. 1941. xxxvii, 622 pp. $5.00.

Through their knowledge of a shorthand system perfected by William Mason in the late seventeenth century, Mrs. Tinling and Dr. Wright have made available the first of three considerable segments of Byrd's Diary, a diary which they argue with conviction was probably kept throughout his adult life. Plans are already completed for the publication of the second section, covering the years 1717-1721. As for the third (1739-1741), now owned by the Virginia Historical Society, we can only deplore with Dr. Wright the unexplained perversity of that body in continuing to suppress it.

The present volume gives us Byrd in his middle thirties, several years married and the owner of something like thirty thousand acres of land. He is an English-bred gentleman, but already adjusted to the routine of his Virginia plantation. It is that routine indeed which, although somewhat monotonous to read about, presents in its cumulative effect an invaluable understanding of Byrd. The following is a typical entry:

> 31 March. I rose at 6 o'clock and read a chapter in Hebrew and 200 verses in Homer's *Odyssey*. I said my prayers and ate milk for breakfast. I danced my dance. Mr. Haynes came to see me and I appointed him to receive the President's tobacco. We made an end of sowing the oats. I ate nothing but boiled beef for dinner. My wife was out of humor for nothing. However I endeavored to please her again, having consideration for a woman's weakness. I played at billiards with the ladies. I read Italian. In the evening we walked about the plantation. My wife was out of order so we went to bed soon. I had good health, good thoughts, and good humor, thanks be to God Almighty. I said my prayers. This month was remarkable for abundance of rain and wind without frost.

Similar entries could be multiplied at length. He says his prayers or asks God's pardon for neglecting to say them. He "eats" milk for breakfast regularly. He reads in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, and occasionally in Dutch and French. The evidence of Byrd's linguistic ability is, indeed, for the first time conclusively established. And this reading is not haphazard. He stays with an author, like Lucan, for instance, consistently until he knows him, just as he reads in Geometry day in and day out for weeks. And he dances his "dance," obviously a form of calisthenics, virtually every morning. Dr. Wright declares in his introduction:

> Servants were a particular trial, [when were they ever not!] and the treatment they received was not altogether gentle, though sentimentalists may generalize too glibly about cruelty from incidents cited in the diary. Byrd clearly disliked punishing his slaves and often tried to get results by making threats. But occasionally he lost his temper—as well as the dignity one conventionally attributes to gentlemen—and in a fit of rage beat a servant. Once he whipped the cook for serving bacon half-raw, and he kicked Prue, the maid, for lighting a candle in the daytime. He sometimes forgot himself so far as to quarrel undignifiedly with the servants. Mrs. Byrd, who had a violent and uncontrollable temper, shocked her husband by the severity of her punishments, as when she beat Jenny with the tongs and branded her with a hot iron. Byrd himself in a few instances meted out what seems to have been cruel punishment: he ordered a slave who pretended sickness to be fastened with a bit in his mouth, and later to be tied up by the leg; he sometimes had slaves whipped for laziness. Although the picture of the punishment of servants is not one that appeals to twentieth century humanitarians, Byrd's slaves received far gentler treatment than that accorded sailors in the royal navy. By eighteenth century standards, the slaves at Westover were little less than spoiled. Certainly Byrd felt that he was a kindly master and inveighed in some of his letters against brutes who mistreat their slaves.
>
> Busy as he was about his private business, Byrd never neglected his public duties. However badly he was needed at Westover, or at some of his other plantations, he dropped everything to attend the meetings of the Council at Williamsburg or to muster the militia which he commanded. In the performance of these public services Byrd derived a great deal of satisfaction. It was part of the obligation of a great gentleman, and Byrd was pleased to be one of this ruling class.

Considerable emphasis is given the quarrels with his wife, who was frequently ill. For the most part, however, their basis was trivial, and the reader finds him "rogering" her or "giving her a flourish," or playing billiards with her much more often than he meets with a recital of their differences. After an absence of a week or more, in fact, the "rogering" follows with almost ritualistic regularity.

Byrd liked to gamble, though the sums he lost or won were not large. Thirty shillings one way or the other was an average day's venture, but at that the picture of members of the Council of Virginia shooting craps in a Williamsburg inn or lodginghouse might tend to disillusion those who would idealize Virginia culture of the first century after colonization. For the colony was still one in which a healthy, systematic gentleman—if Byrd was a typical figure—might write amiable satires against his contemporaries, serve as a judge in the colonial court, doctor his slaves, purging them or bleeding them, or be compelled to thrash them soundly when they were recalcitrant. He was an extremely busy person. The Diary, in brief, presents not the Byrd of publicized Westover but a detailed picture of a relatively young man, a man of many occupations, who still can find time to send seeds to the Bishop of London for experimental planting. It affords an invaluable picture of life in the early Colonial South.

Vanderbilt University. RICHMOND CROOM BEATTY.

AMERICAN LOCAL-COLOR STORIES. Edited, with an Introduction, by Harry R. Warfel and G. Harrison Orians. New York: American Book Company. [1941.] 846 pp. $3.50.

PROSE AND POETRY OF TODAY: *Regional America.* Edited by Harriet Marcelia Lucas. Choral Reading by Elizabeth Frances Ansorge. Syracuse, New York: The L. W. Singer Company. [1941.] 808 pp. $1.92.

American Local-Color Stories contains sixty-three stories by thirty-eight authors, the earliest being James Hall's "The French Village" (1829), the latest Zona Gale's "Nobody Sick, Nobody Poor" (1907). By the side of such standard figures as Bret Harte and Sarah Orne Jewett (represented by four stories each) appear less conspicuous writers like Albert Pike, Philander Deming, and Thomas Allibone Janvier. The variety of the contents indicates that the editors have indeed, as they assert, "thoroughly examined the whole body of local-color fiction"; and their collection seems adequately representative of a literary mode which everyone recognizes even if no one can define it with precision. The anthology is well conceived and ought to prove highly useful.

A historical introduction traces the development of local-color writing. Finding the remote origins of the phenomenon in post-Revolutionary nationalism, in Irving's borrowings from German literature, in the all-pervasive influence of Scott, and in imitations of Maria Edgeworth and Mary Mitford, the editors also mention the influence of Dickens and Thomas Hardy on American efforts to deal with the characters and landscapes of our various provinces. They point out that the writing of local-color fiction was likewise stimulated by nonliterary influences—the strictures of foreign travelers, published reports of governmental expeditions, and Eastern hostility to the West. The editors note that during the decade after 1900 local-color fiction tended to give way to the historical romance, with which it had much in common; but they imply that the local-color impulse survived into the 1920's "modified by the new mood of intense realism" and perhaps into the 1930's in the guise of the New Regionalism.

Although these historical suggestions are extremely helpful, the editors are less successful in their efforts to define local color as a genre. They are greatly handicapped by conventional critical terminology. Assuming at the outset that local color is "one type of realism," they encounter the almost insurmountable difficulties to which this term gives rise. It is undeniable that many local-colorists had a rather naïve desire to describe unfamiliar American regions—as if the writer possessed a portable sawmill which he could move on to another stand of timber when the first had been sawed into lumber and marketed. But the impulse toward "accurate portrayal" of new materials does not explain the whole movement, as Professor Orians has indicated in his *Short History of American*

Literature by commenting upon "the strange blend of romantic impulse and realistic technique which one encounters in this school." The introduction of the term "romantic" in some respects merely increases the difficulty, but this statement has the advantage of calling attention to the inadequacy of "realism" to describe what was happening.

Professor Orians has, for example, very properly emphasized Harte's use of a formula by which apparently vicious characters are "redeemed" through one gallant gesture. Contemporary critics of Harte regarded this formula as basic in his work; verisimilitude in the depiction of provincial life was not for them an acceptable goal of fiction because this life, prior to the miracles of redemption wrought by the artist's formula, often seemed to them "coarse," "vulgar," "vicious," and even "immoral."[1] That "the eye and sympathy of genius" had been able to overcome the initial handicap of unpromising materials by revealing in criminals and outcasts "the purest and loveliest feelings and influences that can touch a human heart" was considered a surprising achievement—a clear case of difficulty overcome.[2]

Some later local-colorists like Sarah Orne Jewett and Joel Chandler Harris escaped from Harte's formula, but it was widely imitated, and wherever it was used it gave to local-color writing a patronizing air which can hardly be called realistic. As early as 1871 Whitman placed a discerning finger on the concealed class bias in local-color writing by remarking of Clarence King's "Wayside Pikes" that "he found himself getting his back up when these large, coarse, illiterate and homely characters were treated from a supercilious, foppish point of view." This is a little unfair to King, but most modern readers would agree with Whitman's further remark that Harte was "entirely cut off from what he writes about by having cultivated foppishness and superiority."[3] The heart-of-gold formula was, in fact, a device for making the common man over in the genteel pattern.

Verisimilitude in depicting American regions is the obvious common trait which warrants including in a single class works as unlike one another as "The Luck of Roaring Camp" and "The Return of a Private." Yet even though the grouping of such dissimilar stories may sometimes be convenient, their similarities are in some ways less significant than their differences. One wishes that Professors Warfel and Orians, with their thorough factual command of the field, had devoted more attention to the central problem of the local-color writer's attitude toward his materials.

Sharper discrimination at this point would very likely have enabled them also to give a more satisfactory account of the differences between local color and the New Regionalism. The editors assert that contemporary regional writers are "adding to the descriptive and dialect accuracy of the early regionalists deeper psychological insight, fuller portraiture, and high seriousness." They also mention an increased reliance on folklore and, as "the chief difference between the two," "a program for enlightened sectionalism." Few regionalists would be content with this statement of their aims and achievements. George Sessions Perry's *Hold Autumn in Your Hand,* for example—to take a recent example of indisputably "regional" work—can hardly be described as nineteenth-century local color plus insight, better technique, and high seriousness. There has been, actually, a change of direction, or at any rate a shift of emphasis which has resulted in a drastic revision of the writer's assumptions and aims. One way of describing the change would be to say that early local-colorists, on the whole (with conspicuous exceptions like those mentioned above), saw and described their regions from without or, better, from above; regional writers nowadays habitually see their regions from within, if indeed not from below. The elegant ladies visiting "the quaint German community" in Ohio who constitute the "we" of Constance Fenimore Woolson's "Solomon" have become the sleek tourists in their limousine who pass the Joads on the highway. This is not the whole story, but the difficult task of distinguishing the New Regionalism from the old could more profitably begin with data of this sort than with improvements in technique.

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[1] *Putnam's Magazine*, N. S., V, 722 (June, 1870), *Atlantic Monthly*, L, 268 (Aug., 1882).

[2] *Putnam's Magazine*, N. S., VI, 111 (July, 1870).

[3] Clara Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades* (Boston, 1931), p. 64.

Prose and Poetry of Today: Regional America, intended for use in high schools, collects recent verse, essays, and short stories from nine American regions, including New York City (represented by Thyra Samter Winslow's *A Cycle of Manhattan*). A tenth section presents as an example of the regional novel MacKinlay Kantor's *The Voice of Bugle Ann,* in a version which a curious note at the end describes as unacceptable to the author because it omits all profanity and all reference to the drinking of whiskey. Although the anthology contains some good things, it is pervaded by the unmistakable odor of the Butterick Publications, the Curtis Publishing Company, and *Good Housekeeping.* One seeks in vain for a principle of selection in a volume that blithely reprints James Whitcomb Riley and Edgar A. Guest alongside Allen Tate, Conrad Aiken, and Archibald MacLeish. A considerable portion of the materials, of which Don Totheroh's one-act play *Pearls* may be cited as typical, is quite worthless. And it might be maintained that a sweet slick-magazine story like Anna Brand's "The Entry of Ramon" is more likely than Kantor's profanity to debauch adolescents. If the trend of contemporary letters makes the best current writing unsuitable for young readers, it would be better to leave them with old work than to feed them on innocuous verse and fiction from the women's magazines.

University of Texas. HENRY NASH SMITH.

BRIEF MENTION

THE PLAY'S THE THING: *Enjoying the Plays of Today.* By Joseph Mersand. New York: The Modern Chapbooks. 1941. 101 pp. $2.00.

THE AMERICAN DRAMA 1930-1940: *Essays on Playwrights and Plays.* By Joseph Mersand. New York: The Modern Chapbooks. 1941. 184 pp. $2.00.

The first of these volumes was written because the author, as he states in his preface, had been unable to find a book "that presented some of the eternal verities of the drama in language so simple that even beginners might profit." By means of its chapters on dramatic principles and its discussions of seven representative American playwrights of recent years, it accomplishes quite effectively the purpose of inducting novices, especially those of high-school age, into the appreciation of drama.

The second volume consists of a reprinting of eight essays originally published in the *Players Magazine.* They do not add up to anything like a comprehensive survey of the drama of the last decade, as the title might imply, and taken individually they are not notably fresh or illuminating although agreeably written. Perhaps women's study clubs in particular would find this book useful.

New Jersey College for Women. ORAL SUMNER COAD.

INTIMATE VIRGINIANA: *A Century of Maury Travels by Land and Sea.* By Anne Fontaine Maury. Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press. 1941. xiv, 342 pp. $3.50.

This volume is a fitting sequel to Anne Maury's *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* (New York, 1853), which published the Maury family letters and papers of the eighteenth century. The present volume, done by the great-great-niece of the former editor, covers the early and middle nineteenth century, beginning with James Maury (1746-1840), schoolmate and lifelong friend of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe; aide to Governor Nelson of Virginia during the Revolution; and American consul at Liverpool from the administration of Washington to that of Jackson. His children, for business or pleasure, traveled widely on the Continent and in the United States; and several of them had a keen gift of observation and of telling phrase. These papers, therefore, are full of interest to the student of social history, and so of literature; and the editor's own running comment is sprightly and apropos. The book is beautifully printed and illustrated; and one's only serious regret is the absence of an index.

West Virginia University. JOHN W. DRAPER.

MERLIN: *Baltimore, 1827: Together with Recollections of Edgar A. Poe by Lambert A. Wilmer.* Edited with an Introduction by Thomas Ollive Mabbott. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints. 1941. xiii, 38 pp. $1.50.

Lambert A. Wilmer's three-act drama, *Merlin,* an imaginative treatment of the Edgar A. Poe-Sarah Elmira Royster love affair, is now made accessible to students of Poe. In the Introduction and Appendix Professor Mabbott brings together the known facts in the Poe-Wilmer relationship.

The Guardian, to which Wilmer refers in his letter of October 5, 1842, to John Tomlin, is not, as Professor Mabbott supposes, a newspaper of Jackson, but a literary monthly of Columbia, Tennessee. In the issue dated May 15, 1842 (II, 78), appears Tomlin's notice of Wilmer's *The Quacks of Helicon: A Satire,* entitled "L. A. Wilmer, Esq.," in which Tomlin writes: ". . . Edgar A. Poe in 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue,' has exhibited powers of mind, equal to any living writer."

Duke University. DAVID K. JACKSON.

THE DANA SAGA: *Three Centuries of the Dana Family in Cambridge.* By H. W. L. Dana. Cambridge, Mass.: The Cambridge Historical Society. 1941. 61 pp. $1.00.

A very pleasant and informing work dealing with one of the most distinguished families of the United States. Especially valuable to students of American literature is the sketch of Richard Henry Dana, the Second, which contains previously unpublished material concerning *Two Years before the Mast.* Mr. Dana argues, with considerable point, that this same story needs to be considered as a revolt against the unrealistic tendencies of the 1840's.

C. G.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ACCEPTED BY AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES 1940-1941. Compiled for the Association of Research Libraries. Edited by Edward A. Henry. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1941. xiii, 142 pp. $2.50.

Last year's figure of 3,526 dissertations sets an all-time high, and gives one cause for worry. Classified under "English Literature" are 192 theses, Yale possessing a monstrous lead with twenty-three, and Columbia, Cornell, and Wisconsin following next in order with twelve, eleven, and eleven respectively. Only three of the dissertations from Yale are in the American field, two from Columbia, two from Cornell, and three from Wisconsin.

The list is, of course, an invaluable adjunct to the resources of the researcher and director of research alike.

C. G.

THE BEST AMERICAN WIT AND HUMOR. Edited by J. B. Mussey. Cleveland: The World Publishing Company. [1941.] 298 pp. $0.49.

Compiled from a file of magazines owned by a dentist, the volume includes only the more recent humorists. A reprint.

C. G.

THE DEVIL'S DICTIONARY. By Ambrose Bierce. Cleveland: The World Publishing Company. [1941.] 376 pp. $0.49.

A cheap reprint, from old plates.

C. G.

LOOKING BACKWARD 2000—1887. By Edward Bellamy. Boston: Houghten Mifflin Company. 1941. vi, 276 pp. $2.50.

A beautiful reprint of a work more timely now than when first written.

C. G.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

The section on LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE will hereafter be omitted. Complete annotated bibliographies may be found, for LANGUAGE, compiled by Woodford A. Heflin, Elliott V. K. Dobbie, and S. N. Treviño, quarterly in *American Speech,* and for FOLK LITERATURE, compiled by R. S. Boggs, annually in March in the *Southern Folklore Quarterly.*

Items for the check-list to be published in the May, 1942, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Lewis Leary, Duke University, Durham, N. C.

I. 1607-1800

[BOUCHER, JONATHAN] Chorley, E. Clowes (ed.). "Correspondence Between the Right Reverend John Skinner, Jr., and the Reverend Jonathan Boucher. 1786." *Hist. Mag. of the Prot. Episcopal Church,* X, 163-175 (June, 1941).

[BROWN, C. B.] Warfel, Harry R. "Charles Brockden Brown's First Published Poem." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* I, 19-20 (May, 1941).

Finds in the Edentown *State Gazette of North Carolina,* Feb. 26, 1789, a poem written on Franklin, but printed as "An Inscription for General Washington's Tomb Stone."

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Mulder, Arnold. "Benjamin Franklin: Teacher of Composition." *Coll. Eng.,* III, 480-486 (Feb., 1942).

If Franklin's precepts on writing were followed, "all the [modern] texts in composition would instantly become dispensable and all instructors in writing would lose their importance in the educational process."

[JEFFERSON, THOMAS] Padover, S. K. "Jefferson's Prose Poem: The Declaration of Independence." *Amer. Mercury,* LIV, 165-171 (Feb., 1942).

Although a state paper, the Declaration should be read as poetry.

[Morse, Jedidiah] Twinem, Leonard. "Letters of a Young Geographer." *New Eng. Quar.*, XIV, 696-704 (Dec., 1941).

Excerpts from a "youthful correspondence" between Morse and John Cotton Smith.

[Sandys, George] Davis, Richard Beale. "Early Editions of George Sandys's 'Ovid': The Circumstances of Production." *Papers Bibl. Soc. Amer.*, XXXV, 255-276 (Fourth Quarter, 1941).

II. 1800-1870

[Alcott, Bronson] Edgell, David P. "Bronson Alcott's 'Autobiographical Index.'" *New Eng. Quar.*, XIV, 704-715 (Dec., 1941).

Selections from Alcott's outline of his actions between Jan., 1842, and Nov., 1844, the period of the origin and death of the experiment at Fruitlands.

[Brownson, Orestes] Ryan, Thomas. "Brownson Speaks of England." *Catholic World*, CLIV, 426-429 (Jan., 1942).

Brownson's antipathy to the British Empire as the representative of materialism, and his opposition to the English industrial-commercial system with its debt and funding devices.

[Dana, R. H., Jr.] Kent, Sherman. "Russian Christmas Before the Mast." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 395-398 (Jan., 1942).

A note on Dana's error in dating the Russian Christmas.

[Day, Mahlon] Weiss, Harry B. "Mahlon Day, Early New York Printer, Bookseller and Publisher of Children's Books." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LXV, 1007-1021 (Dec., 1941).

[Emerson, R. W.] Stovall, Floyd. "The Value of Emerson Today." *Coll. Eng.*, III, 442-454 (Feb., 1942).

Emerson's strong faith in human nature can be a valuable tonic in these turbulent times.

[Fessenden, T. G.] Gudde, Erwin G. "An American Version of *Munchausen*." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 372-390 (Jan., 1942).

Four editions of an American adaptation of Munchausen between 1805 and 1845, probably by Fessenden.

[Fiske, John] Powell, Lawrence Clark. "John Fiske—Bookman." *Papers Bibl. Soc. Amer.*, XXXV, 221-254 (Fourth Quarter, 1941).

Considers Fiske as a bibliophile and examines his collection of 7,500 volumes, now part of the library of the University of California at Los Angeles.

[Hawthorne, Nathaniel] Doubleday, Neal F. "Hawthorne's Satirical Allegory." *Coll. Eng.*, III, 325-337 (Jan., 1942).

The eight satirical allegories included in *Mosses from an Old Manse* represent a development in Hawthorne's work toward the temper of *The House of Seven Gables* and *The Blithedale Romance*.

Mathews, J. Chesley. "Hawthorne's Knowledge of Dante." *Univ. of Texas Studies in Eng.,* No. 402, pp. 157-165 (July 8, 1940 [actually published April, 1941]).

Hawthorne "certainly read the *Inferno,* presumably all of it," and probably read the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso.* Since he had a reading knowledge of Italian, and since he considered that "translations are never satisfactory," "one would suppose that he did at least part of his reading in Italian."

Orians, G. Harrison. "The Sources and Themes of Hawthorne's 'The Gentle Boy.'" *New Eng. Quar.,* XIV, 664-678 (Dec., 1941).

The story is not only a pre-study of later tales, but a study early in Hawthorne's career of the theme of isolation: its sources include Bishop's *England Judged* and Sewel's *History of the Quakers.*

[LE VERT, OCTAVIA WALTON] Anon. "Madam Le Vert's Diary." *Ala. Hist. Rev.,* III, 31-54 (Spring, 1941).

Letters and occasional poems of Octavia Walton Le Vert (1810-1877), including two letters to Longfellow.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Davis, Merrell R. "The Flower Symbolism in 'Mardi.'" *Mod. Lang. Quar.,* II, 625-638 (Dec., 1941).

Frances S. Osgood's *The Poetry of Flowers and Flowers of Poetry* (1841) offers a key to the meaning of Melville's flower symbolism.

Duffy, Charles. "A Source for the Conclusion of Melville's 'Moby Dick.'" *Notes & Queries,* CLXXXI, 278-279 (Nov. 15, 1941).

Suggests Campbell's "Death Boat of Heligoland" (1828).

Lloyd, Francis V., Jr. "Melville's First Lectures." *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 391-395 (Jan., 1942).

Lectures in Lawrence, Mass., Nov. 23, and in Concord, N. H., Nov. 24, 1857, were not successful.

[MILLER, SAMUEL] Jantz, Harold S. "Samuel Miller's Survey of German Literature, 1803." *Ger. Rev.,* XVI, 267-277 (Dec., 1941).

Summary of Miller's *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (1803), which "contains the first extensive survey of German classical literature and scholarship to appear in America."

[MILLS, G. H.] Hurley, Doran. "Our First Dramatist." *America,* LXV, 213-214 (Nov. 29, 1941).

George Henry Mills, "first American Catholic playwright."

[POE, E. A.] Evans, May Garrettson. "Poe in Amity Street." *Md. Hist. Mag.,* XXXVI, 363-380 (Dec., 1941).

The Housing Authority spared a house at 203 North Amity Street, Baltimore, after the Poe Society presented proof that Poe lived there between 1832 and 1835.

Mabbott, T. O. "Poe's Obscure Contemporaries." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* I, 166-167 (Feb., 1942).

A call for assistance in identifying eleven men mentioned in the *Literati* and the "Autobiography" papers.

———. "Ullahanna—A Literary Ghost." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* I, 83 (Sept., 1941).

"Olybrius" [T. O. Mabbott]. "Poe and the Artist John P. Frankenstein." *Notes & Queries,* CLXXXII, 31-32 (Jan. 17, 1942).

A reprint of a passage in Frankenstein's *American Art* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1864) attacking Poe.

Ostrom, John W. "Two 'Lost' Poe Letters." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* I, 68-69 (Aug., 1941).

———. "Two Unpublished Poe Letters." *Americana,* XXXVI, 67-71 (Jan., 1942).

The two letters were written to Hiram Haines, editor of the *Virginia Star,* in 1836 and 1840.

[PRESCOTT, W. H.] Charvat, William. "Prescott's Political and Social Attitudes." *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 320-330 (Jan., 1942).

The historian is disclosed as a man of individualistic opinion, a staunch Federalist-Whig, a Unitarian. "An investigation of Prescott's political and social opinions not only helps to place him in his environment, but provides an indispensable background for his philosophy of history."

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Currier, Thomas Franklin. "Whittier's 'To —— With a Copy of Woolman's *Journal*.'" *Bul. of Friends' Hist. Assoc.,* XXX, 69-74 (Autumn, 1941).

Identifies Helen Winslow as the maiden "with the fair brown tresses" to whom the poem is addressed.

Emerson, Donald E. "Whittier, Woolman's *Journal,* and Caroline Neagus." *Bul. of Friends' Hist. Assoc.,* XXX, 74-79 (Autumn, 1941).

Identifies Caroline Neagus as the maiden "with the fair brown tresses" to whom the poem is addressed.

[WHITTIER, M. F.] Griffin, Lloyd Wilfred. "Matthew Franklin Whittier, 'Ethan Spike.'" *New Eng. Quar.,* XIV, 646-663 (Dec., 1941).

The poet's brother blended the freshness of the frontier with a shrewd portrayal of Yankee character in the "Ethan Spike" letters, which appeared in the Portland *Transcript* from 1846 to 1863.

[WHITE, J. B.] Weidner, Paul R. (ed.). "The Journal of John Blake White." *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.,* XLII, 169-186 (Oct., 1941).

Continued from the April and July numbers.

[WOODWORTH, SAMUEL] Taft, Kendall B. "'Scenes of My Childhood': A Comment." *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 410-411 (Jan., 1942).

A correction and additions to Charles Duffy, "Scenes of My Childhood," *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 167 (May, 1941): "The Old Oaken Bucket" (1) first appeared on June 3, 1818, and (2) was strongly influenced by Byron and Campbell.

III. 1870-1900

[ADAMS, HENRY] Elsey, George McKee. "The First Education of Henry Adams." *New Eng. Quar.,* XIV, 679-684 (Dec., 1941).

Adams's autobiography in the Harvard "Class Book of 1858" contains no foreshadowing of the harsh strictures about the university which appear in *The Education* a half century later.

[BIERCE, AMBROSE] Braddy, Haldeen. "Trailing Ambrose Bierce." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* I, 5-6, 20 (April and May, 1941).

"The spreading belief that Bierce died in Mexico rests at present on no substantial proof whatsoever and should be strongly opposed."

———. "Ambrose Bierce and Guy de Maupassant." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* I, 67-68 (Aug., 1941).

Finds similarities in three stories; suggests there are more to be found.

[BOYESEN, H. H.] White, George L., Jr. "H. H. Boyesen: A Note on Immigration." *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 363-371 (Jan., 1942).

This novelist deserves consideration because his writings discuss the "problems and achievements" of the Scandinavian migration in the late nineteenth century.

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Leisy, Ernest E. "Mark Twain and Isaiah Sellers." *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 398-405 (Jan., 1942).

Records the discovery of two Captain Sellers letters in the New Orleans *True Delta* for 1859, one of which was burlesqued by Clemens in the *Daily Crescent.*

Olson, James C. "Mark Twain and the Department of Agriculture." *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 408-410 (Jan., 1942).

Contrary to a departmental ruling, Clemens receives seeds from the Secretary of Agriculture.

Powell, Lawrence Clark. "An Unpublished Mark Twain Letter." *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 405-407 (Jan., 1942).

To Sir John Adams of Glasgow, Dec. 5, 1898.

von Hibler, Leo. "Mark Twain und die deutsche Sprache." *Anglia,* LXV, 206-213 (Nov., 1940).

[DICKINSON, EMILY] Barbot, Mary Elizabeth. "Emily Dickinson Parallels." *New Eng. Quar.,* XIV, 689-696 (Dec., 1941).

Verbal parallels between Emily Dickinson's poems and sermons of the Rev. Charles Wadsworth; similar parallels between her work and that of T. W. Higginson reveal possible influence.

[Hall, James] Flanagan, John T. "James Hall and the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois." *Jour. of Ill. State Hist. Soc.,* XXXIV, 439-452 (Dec., 1941).

"If James Hall did not initiate the attempt to form a state historical society in Illinois, his services were no less important, since it was undoubtedly his energy and enthusiasm and knowledge of the past that kept the society alive for even a few years."

[James, William] Edman, Irwin. "William James: 1842-1942." *Nation,* CLIV, 67-68 (Jan. 17, 1942).

James's philosophical writings lack logical unity, but he discussed the perennial problems of the human mind modestly, solidly, and with a deep and pathetic sincerity.

[Jordan, D. S.] Dickason, David H. "David Starr Jordan as a Literary Man." *Ind. Mag. Hist.,* XXXVII, 345-358 (Dec., 1941).

Jordan made a "worthy contribution to American literature in the realm of facile verse, honest autobiography, and accurate and effective nature sketches and essays."

[Whitman, Walt] Morgan, Jennie A. "A Reply." *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 414-416 (Jan., 1942).

Reply to Louise Pound's "Doubtful Whitman Lore" (see below).

Naumburg, Edward, Jr. "A Collector Looks at Walt Whitman." *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.,* III, 1-18 (Nov., 1941).

Contains new material on Whitman as a parent.

Pound, Louise. "Doubtful Whitman Lore." *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 411-413 (Jan., 1942).

Attacks the authenticity of Jennie A. Morgan's "Early Reminiscences of Walt Whitman," *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 9-17 (March, 1941).

Rubin, Joseph Jay. "Tupper's Possible Influence on Whitman's Style." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* I, 101-102 (Oct., 1941).

The long unrhymed line and the massing of details are both found in Martin Farquhar Tupper, whom Whitman considered one of the "rare men of the age."

Story, Irving C. "The Structural Pattern of *Leaves of Grass.*" *Pacific Univ. Bul.,* XXXVIII, 2-12 (Jan., 1942).

Finds the 1881 *Leaves of Grass* "essentially an articulated, sequential, balanced whole."

Swayne, Mattie. "Whitman's Catalogue Rhetoric." *Univ. of Texas Studies in Eng.,* No. 412, pp. 162-178 (July 8, 1941 [actually published Jan., 1942]).

The catalogue is an essential part of Whitman's poetic form.

[WOOLSON, C. F.] Hubbell, Jay B. (ed.). "Some New Letters of Constance Fenimore Woolson." *New Eng. Quar.,* XIV, 715-735 (Dec., 1941).

Fifteen letters to Paul Hamilton Hayne, dated from 1875 to 1880, which throw light on the writer's literary tastes and methods of work.

IV. 1900-1942

[ADAMIC, LOUIS] Mann, Klaus. "Profile of the Month: Louis Adamic." *Decision,* II, 76-79 (Oct., 1941).

Adamic's plans for internationalism.

[ANDERSON, SHERWOOD] Barker, Russell H. "The Storyteller Role." *Coll. Eng.,* III, 433-442 (Feb., 1942).

A critical, structural analysis of Anderson's stories reveals the flaws in his writing.

[BUCK, PEARL] Benet, Stephen Vincent and Rosemary. "Two-World Success Story: Pearl Buck." *N. Y. Herald-Tribune Books,* XVIII, 21 (Jan. 18, 1942).

Opinions of Pearl Buck on American women.

[CABELL, J. B.] Brewster, Paul G. "*Jurgen* and *Figures of Earth* and the Russian Skazki." *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 305-319 (Jan., 1942).

Influence of Ralston's *Russian Fairy Tales* in language, motifs and episodes, and names of characters.

[CARMER, CARL] Van Gelder, Robert. "An Interview with Mr. Carl Carmer." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.,* Jan. 11, 1942, pp. 2, 4.

On the sources of Carmer's fiction: "Best Guides I've found . . . are antique dealers."

[CATHER, WILLA] White, George L., Jr. "Willa Cather." *Sewanee Rev.,* L, 18-25 (Jan.-March, 1942).

Miss Cather is a "great artist [who] has a strength sufficient unto any day, even this day."

[ELIOT, T. S.] Buck, Gerhard. "Über die Anspielungen in T. S. Eliots *Waste Land.*" *Anglia,* LXV, 214-225 (Nov., 1940).

Montgomerie, Wm. "Harry, Meet Mr. Prufrock (T. S. Eliot's Dilemma)." *Life and Letters Today,* XXXI, 115-128 (Nov., 1941).

Eliot's failure to solve "the problem of Hamlet" is evident in his early as in his later works.

[FARRELL, J. T.] Hatfield, Ruth. "The Intellectual Honesty of James T. Farrell." *Coll. Eng.,* III, 337-346 (Jan., 1942).

Farrell's novels reveal his determination to depict life in its full complexity.

[FROST, ROBERT] Berkelman, Robert G. "Robert Frost and the Middle Way." *Coll. Eng.,* III, 347-353 (Jan., 1942).

Frost sees clearly and steadily; he reminds us that none can be richer than he who keeps fresh the enjoyment of experience for its own sake.

[HURST, FANNIE] Van Gelder, Robert. "An Interview with Miss Fannie Hurst." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, Jan. 25, 1942, pp. 2, 18.

Miss Hurst discusses her art.

[JEFFERS, ROBINSON] White, William. "Uncollected Poems of Robinson Jeffers." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* I, 149-151 (Jan., 1942).

Three poems written by Jeffers in 1905-1906 when he was a graduate student at the University of Southern California are reprinted from the *University Courier.*

[MARKHAM, EDWIN] Clemens, Cyril (ed.). *Edwin Markham Number. Mark Twain Quar.,* IV, *passim* (Spring, 1941).

Reminiscence and appreciation by Lionel Stevenson, Arthur E. Du Bois, Cyril Clemens, Irving Bacheller, George S. Viereck, Thomas O. Mabbott, and others.

[MORLEY, CHRISTOPHER] Altick, Richard D. "Average Citizen in Grub Street: Christopher Morley after Twenty-five Years." *So. Atlantic Quar.,* XLI, 18-31 (Jan., 1942).

"We may hope that sometime he [Morley] will find resolution enough to turn his back upon his poetic incoherences and write the distinguished sort of prose we expected from him in the beginning."

[NATHAN, G. J.] Isaacs, Edith J. R. "The Critical Arena: I. The Theatre of George Jean Nathan." *Theatre Arts,* XXVI, 104-112 (Feb., 1942).

First in a series on American dramatic criticism. Nathan "has head but no heart."

Van Gelder, Robert. "An Interview with George Jean Nathan." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.,* Feb. 1, 1942, pp. 2, 20.

[POUND, EZRA] Williams, William Carlos. "Ezra Pound: Lord Ga-Ga!" *Decision,* II, 16-24 (Sept., 1941).

"Briefly, Pound has missed the major impact of his age, the social impetus which underlies every effort toward a rebirth, he has missed it largely through his blindness and intense egotism, a complete reactionary."

[PORTER, KATHERINE ANNE] Warren, Robert Penn. "Katherine Anne Porter (Irony with a Center)." *Kenyon Rev.,* IV, 29-42 (Winter, 1942).

The serious, consistent, original, and vital artistry of Miss Porter.

[SANDBURG, CARL] Benet, Stephen Vincent and Rosemary. "Sandburg: Son of the Lincoln Countryside." *N. Y. Herald-Tribune Books,* XVIII, 8 (Dec. 14, 1941).

"He came to us from the people Lincoln loved . . . and through all his life, in verse or prose, he has spoken of and for the people."

[SANTAYANA, GEORGE] Knickerbocker, William S. "Figaro Among the Philosophers: George Santayana." *Sewanee Rev.*, L, 250-265 (April-June, 1941).

"The skilful showing up of Santayana by Santayana himself" offers clues for interpreting the motivation of his mind.

[SHERWOOD, ROBERT] Gassner, John. "Robert Emmet Sherwood." *Atlantic Monthly,* CLVIII, 26-33 (Jan., 1942).

"The phenomenon of the liberal mind at work in our day."

V. GENERAL

Adams, J. Donald. "Reviewing and Criticism." *Annals of Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science,* CCXIX, 145-150 (Jan., 1942).

Part of a symposium on "The Press in the Contemporary Scene."

Allen, Frederick Lewis, Chenery, William L., and Oursler, Fulton. "American Magazines, 1741-1941." *Bul. of N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, LXV, 439-456 (June, 1941).

Addresses in celebration of the two-hundredth year of American magazine publishing, delivered at the New York Public Library, April 29, 1941.

Duffy, Charles. "Thomas Campbell and America." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 346-355 (Jan., 1942).

Campbell's popularity in early nineteenth-century America.

Firebaugh, Joseph T. "Samuel Rogers and American Men of Letters." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 331-345 (Jan., 1942).

Especially Irving, Cooper, Halleck, Ticknor, and Prescott.

Gohdes, Clarence. "British Interest in American Literature During the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century as Reflected by Mudie's Select Library." *Amer. Lit.*, XIII, 356-362 (Jan., 1942).

"For many a decade in the nineteenth century the British read more books from America than from all the rest of the world combined."

Horne, Dorothy. "Shape-Note Hymnals and the Art of Music in Early America." *So. Folklore Quar.*, V, 251-256 (Dec., 1941).

An analysis of Swan's *New Harp of Columbia,* "which is the hymnal in most exclusive use throughout East Tennessee," with comment on seventeen hymns.

Jones, Joseph Ray. "Lord Byron in America." *Univ. of Texas Studies in Eng.*, No. 412, pp. 121-136 (July 8, 1940 [actually published Jan., 1942]).

Byron was a friend and champion of America.

Klingberg, Frank J. "The Value of Regional Literature." *Hist. Mag. of the Prot. Episcopal Church,* X, 399-401 (Dec., 1941).

The revival of *The Southern Literary Messenger.*

Mertner, Edgar. "Zur Theorie der Short Story in England und Amerika." *Anglia,* LXV, 188-205 (Nov., 1940).

Merwin, Fred W., and Luxon, N. N. (comps.) "An Annotated Bibliography of Journalism Subjects in American Magazines, August, September and October, 1941." *Jour. Quar.,* XVIII, 414-421 (Dec., 1941).

Mirrielees, Edith Roland. "The American Short Story." *Atlantic Monthly,* CLXVII, 714-722 (June, 1941).

Reasons for the present decline in merit of the American short story.

Moore, Marianne. "The Dial: A Retrospect." *Partisan Rev.,* IX, 52-58 (Jan.-Feb., 1942).

Reminiscence of literary activity in the 1920's.

Morgan, Edmund S. "Puritan Love and Marriage." *More Books,* XVII, 43-62 (Feb., 1942).

The literature of the Puritans reveals that a people can live by something more than pleasure and still lead a pleasant life.

O'Brien, Frank P. "Passing of the Old Montgomery Theatre." *Ala. Hist. Rev.,* III, 8-14 (Spring, 1941).

Memories of plays and players.

Quinn, Kerker (and others). "American Poetry: 1930-1940." *Accent,* I, 213-228 (Summer, 1941).

"A record of poetry publication in the United States during the last decade, compiled by the editors with the help of R. P. Blackmur, Horace Gregory, John Holmes, and Morton Dauwen Zabel."

Smith, Winifred. "Mystics in the Theatre." *Sewanee Rev.,* L, 35-48 (Jan.-Mar., 1942).

Robert Sherwood, Ernest Hemingway, and Eugene O'Neill.

Stern, Philip Van Doren. "Books and Best Sellers." *Va. Quar. Rev.,* XVIII, 45-55 (Dec., 1941).

Modern publishing methods develop a few best-sellers at the expense of experimental or otherwise significant books.

Turner, Vivian. "Our Colonial Theatre." *Quar. Jour. of Speech,* XXVII, 559-573 (Dec., 1941).

A survey of its history from 1665.

Van Doren, Mark. "Good Critics, Rare and Common." *Nation,* CLIV, 95-96 (Jan. 24, 1941).

The common sort is the nameless reader who forms sound judgments, but never publishes; the rare sort is sound and courageous, but modest.

Van Hoesen, Henry B. "The Bibliographical Society of America—Its Leaders and Activities." *Papers Bibl. Soc. Amer.,* XXXV, 177-202 (Third Quarter, 1941).

Wright, Lyle H. "Traditional Errors in American Biography." *Huntington Lib. Quar.,* V, 273-276 (Jan., 1942).

Establishes the fact that Mrs. Hannah Lee's *Grace Seymour* appeared in 1830, not in 1835 as in most biographical notices.

LITERARY NATIONALISM IN *PUTNAM'S MAGAZINE*, 1853-1857

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IN HIS STIMULATING article, "Concerning the Study of Nationalism in American Literature,"[1] Professor R. W. Bolwell calls for further investigation in this field and suggests four categories under which the source materials may be classified. His second category includes efforts to show the importance of "distinctively American" literature and art, attempts to stimulate American authors, discussions of the qualities which make literature American rather than British or Colonial, and exhortations to American writers to use home subjects and to infuse their works with sentiments and an atmosphere recognizable as characteristic of the New World. Such literary nationalism has been prevalent throughout our literary history.[2] Materials for the study of it are most abundant in our magazines, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science, and Art began publication with the number for January, 1853, which contained the following editorial salutation:

> It is because we are confident that neither Greece nor Guinea can offer the American reader a richer variety of instruction and amusement in every kind, than the country whose pulses throb with his, and whose every interest is his own, that this magazine presents itself today. The genius of the old world is affluent; we owe much to it, and we hope to owe more. But we have no less faith in the opulence of our own resources.[3]

Throughout its short life the magazine, under the editorship of Charles F. Briggs, with G. W. Curtis and Parke Godwin as associate editors, steadily maintained the policy thus enunciated. It offered substantial encouragement to American authors by publishing their writings, and paying for them promptly and liberally. Contributions to *Putnam's,* as was true with most magazines of the period, were unsigned, but the contributors have been identified;[4] and the sort of material which *Putnam's* received from such leading American authors as Longfellow, Lowell, Thoreau, Melville, Cooper (posthumously, of course)—as well as lesser figures like Bayard Taylor, J. P. Kennedy, C. D. Warner, R. H. Stoddard, C. E. Norton, and Fitz-James O'Brien—supports Professor Mott's opinion that the magazine "maintained consistently about the highest level which an American magazine had reached up to that time."[5]

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[1] *American Literature,* X, 405-416 (Jan., 1939).

[2] Two important studies of literary nationalism during the first part of the century are Professor J. C. McCloskey's "Campaign of Periodicals after the War of 1812 for National American Literature," *PMLA,* L, 262-273 (March, 1935), and Professor B. T. Spencer's "A National Literature, 1837-1855," *American Literature,* VIII, 129-159 (May, 1936). Practically no detailed studies of later periods have been published; there are several general discussions mentioned by Professor Bolwell in the article already referred to (*American Literature,* X, 407 n.).

[3] I, 1 (Jan., 1853).

Toward the current achievements of American authors, the editorial attitude of *Putnam's* was one of cordial appreciation, tempered with an insistence upon the desirability of careful criticism which should help the nation, regarded as still in its youth, toward intellectual and artistic maturity. Among the reflections suggested to a reviewer of *Homes of American Authors* is the thought that "under the inspiration of a new order of things, such as exists in this country," our men of letters "have laid the foundations of a peculiar literature,—not yet copious, not yet comparable for richness, depth, variety, or grace, with either of the ancient or modern literatures, but still full of native freshness and vigor."[6] The usual faults of our writers, thinks this reviewer, "are the faults of excess and not of deficiency; they want discipline, but not sensibility nor native vigor." To provide such discipline, according to an essay on "Our Authors and Authorship,"

> It is time, we think, that we should have serious critics. . . . Our criticism too commonly wants sincerity and dignity. We deal our praise out very lightly, with a kind of good-natured *nonchalance,* as if it didn't much matter after all.[7]

Strong in its purpose of encouraging "only the indigenous and healthy shoots"[8] of American literature, *Putnam's* commented freely upon the qualities of various American authors and did not hesitate to censure faults wherever it discerned them. Thus Lowell was taken to task for his prolixity and diffuseness.[9] Melville was advised to beware of "the love of antic and extravagant speculation" which gets out of hand in *Pierre*[10] and *Mardi*.[11] Curtis was warned against succumbing too much to the influence of Thackeray.[12] Longfellow was termed "something of a dillettante [*sic*]" who "not seldom mars his verse with inappropriate ornaments."[13]

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[4] F. L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), II, 423-424. This monumental survey affords much information upon one aspect of literary nationalism, namely, the extent to which American magazines encouraged the growth of a national literature by publishing the works of American authors.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 426.

[6] *Putnam's,* I, 28 (Jan., 1853).

[7] IX, 386-387 (April, 1857).

[8] II, 105 (July, 1853).

Despite such defects, *Putnam's* thought highly of Lowell, Melville, Curtis, and Longfellow, and considered them worthy representatives of American authorship. Lowell was commended as "a truly American poet" who "infuses into his writings the spirit of our times and institutions."[14] Melville, highly praised for *Typee, Omoo,* and *Moby Dick,* was given the following benediction: "Maga,[15] who loves her step-son Melville as if he were wholly her own, knows perfectly well that he is destined to do her and his country much honor and good."[16] Curtis was held up to admiration for having produced books of travel[17] recognizable as the work of an American "full of freshness and broad, sensuous life—not like the worn-out debauchees of Europe who travel to get rid of themselves or to find a new sensation."[18] Longfellow was defended against the charge of being un-American, a mere copy of Tieck and Novalis; *Putnam's* contended that even in his treatment of European subjects he "writes as only an American would write. . . . His *point of view* is prevailingly American."[19] Whittier was similarly commended as "in every way . . . an American poet; first in his instincts and in the character of his feeling, then in the choice of subject, then in method of treatment."[20] *Putnam's* also pointed out specifically American traits "among our nascent poets, too—such as Saxe, Boker, Read, Taylor, and Stoddart [*sic*]," discerning in their work "the earnest of a departure from old methods, and an entrance upon a new and original career" and finding them "more free,

[9] I, 547-558 (May, 1853).

[10] I, 155-164 (Feb., 1853).

[11] IX, 387-392 (April, 1857).

[12] IX, 392-393 (April, 1857).

[13] VI, 583 (Dec., 1855).

[14] I, 557 (May, 1853). The critic was thinking especially of the first series of *The Biglow Papers.*

[15] *Putnam's* habitually referred to itself as "Maga" or (in allusion to its cover) as "pea-green Maga."

[16] IX, 391-392 (April, 1857).

[17] *Nile Notes of a Howadji* (1851) and *The Howadji in Syria* (1852).

[18] I, 29 (Jan., 1853).

[19] VI, 583 (Dec., 1855).

[20] X, 265 (Aug., 1857).

frank, and expansive than the modern British poets."[21] In further refutation of the charge that our American writers merely imitate those of the Old World, the first number of *Putnam's* had this to say:

> It is a piece of unworthy prejudice to pretend that our leading writers are only second editions of European celebrities. Cooper is no more an imitator of Scott than is Bulwer or Dickens; his materials and his methods of presenting them are his own; and no man not born in America, in the shadow of her primeval woods, under the inspirations of her democratic institutions, could have written any of the best of his works. Bryant is wholly American, or if he resembles Wordsworth or Cowper, it is because he writes English with the deep meditative wisdom of the one, and the pensive grace of the other; but neither Wordsworth nor Cowper have written more true, beautiful, or indestructible poems than the Waterfowl or the Prairies. Whom does Emerson imitate? Carlyle! Why, with scarcely a quality in common with Carlyle, he is the superior of Carlyle, in clearness and depth of insight, as he is in simplicity and melody of style. Has Mr. Dana a prototype, has Channing, has Audubon, has Webster, has Hawthorne, has Melville, has Uncle Tom?[22]

In discussing most of the American writers who were noticed in its pages, *Putnam's* pointed out, as one of the most commendable traits of their Americanism, their tendency to make use of American subject matter. For this trait Melville, Longfellow, Lowell, Emerson, and Whittier were praised; and among comments upon lesser figures the following statement concerning the verse of one J. C. Hosmer is typical:

> For one thing, indeed, Mr. Hosmer is to be greatly commended: his topics are almost entirely home-born; they are drawn from American history, American life, and American scenes, and they are treated in the author's own manner, not in the manner of Shelley, Tennyson, Browning, or other reigning foreign models.[23]

While *Putnam's* never denied the right of our authors to treat whatever topics and themes they cared for, it consistently held that they were most likely to achieve success by drawing their subject matter and their inspiration from home sources. In the first number appeared the following reflections suggested by the tremendous success of Mrs. Stowe:

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[21] I, 29 (Jan., 1853).

[22] I, 28 (Jan., 1853).

[23] III, 674 (June, 1854).

> Apart from all considerations of the subject, or motive, of Uncle Tom's Cabin, the great success of the book shows what may be accomplished by American authors who exercise their genius upon American subjects. . . . Cooper made his first essay upon foreign ground and failed. He then came back to America, with no better talent than he carried abroad, and succeeded, having first secured a reputation by the use of a home subject, and then succeeded with foreign materials. . . . There is yet remaining an uncultivated but rich field for the American genius.[24]

"How preposterous the idea," exclaimed another *Putnam* essayist, "that the land which Columbus trod, and which Washington consecrated to liberty, cannot furnish themes enough up to the capacities of the greatest abilities which we have."[25] Young Americans ambitious of authorship were thus exhorted in an editorial note:

> Our whole American life is a comparatively untrodden ground; and if they must write fiction, let them try their hands upon the rich and suggestive materials lying everywhere about them. Have we, as yet, besides Uncle Tom, a genuine novel of [contemporary] American life? Has anything like justice been done to the peculiarities of the several parts of the nation?[26]

The editors of *Putnam's* were themselves desirous of doing justice to "the peculiarities of the several parts of the nation." Though most of the contributors were associated with either New York or New England, *Putnam's* contained a good deal of poetry, fiction, and other material from such Southern writers as J. P. Kennedy, Mrs. R. B. Hicks, William Swinton, and Francis Lieber—this despite the fact that the magazine's political sympathies were with the new Republican party. Western authors, whether of the Middle Border or the Far West, did not yet exist, but *Putnam's* recognized the importance of the Western regions by publishing accounts of Western travel and adventure and articles on Western resources.

Though *Putnam's* thus showed in various ways an interest in encouraging regional cultures, it was not slow to rebuke what it considered unwholesome manifestations of sectional spirit. In 1857 it published an article[27] satirizing and quoting at some length the proceedings of a ludicrously arrogant convention which had recently assembled at Savannah to vilify Northern literature and demand, in the words of one Tupman, "that the South should have a literature of her own, to defend her principles and rights . . . [and] determine hereafter to encourage no northern books or papers." The convention, it appears, actually appointed a committee of clergymen and teachers to set about the business of producing a body of literature properly Southern and suitable for teaching in all grades of education from primary school through college. *Putnam's* was led to conclude concerning Tupman and his cohorts that "it is literature itself that they oppose" and to express the hope that their attitude would be repudiated by the better elements of Southern culture. The South was not the only section which was felt to be in need of occasional judicious reprehension. The following remarks upon an aspect of New England culture, delivered more than sixty years before the flowering of Mr. Mencken and Mr. Lewisohn, would have had, to anyone who should happen to read them during the Great Critical Debate of the nineteen-twenties, a remarkably contemporary sound:

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[24] I, 101-102 (Jan., 1853).

[25] III, 639 (June, 1854).

[26] VII, 546 (May, 1856).

[27] IX, 204-214 (Feb., 1857).

> A plausible explanation of the comparative poverty of American literature, through so many years, is to be found, we think, in the fact that literature is an art, and can only flourish where it is cultivated as an art. . . . Now our forefathers in English America were extremely hostile to all the arts. Their ideas of education were analogous to those of the Spartans.[28]

> How much our national character has suffered from the depressing atmosphere of Puritan opinion . . . is a question worthy of the most careful and elaborate examination. It cannot be answered by declamations about Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill, and it will force itself most earnestly upon those who most fairly compute and heartily acknowledge the benefits which America owes to the fathers of New England.[29]

The shrewdness and urbanity which *Putnam's* thus displayed in its dealings with the prejudices of the two most articulate sections of the country incline one to agree with Professor Mott's statement that the magazine was "edited with a degree of freedom from the inhibitory fears of the time, with a certain sophistication, with a cultivation and intelligence, that would have given it standing in any period of our history."[30] The civilized quality of its editorship is further manifest in the fact that *Putnam's* efforts to promote an indigenous American literature were accompanied by no contu-

[28] IX, 385 (April, 1857).

[29] IX, 646 (June, 1857).

[30] *Op. cit.*, II, 426.

melious attitude toward the literatures of other nations and by little or no tendency toward patriotic overvaluation of American achievements.[31] The editors of *Putnam's* were perfectly sincere in stating their aim of "sustaining a Magazine, at once universal in its sympathies, and national in its tone."[32]

The sophisticated and urbane attitude which *Putnam's* showed in various ways was not incompatible with a certain ingenuous and idealistic optimism—a reflection of the expansive, forward-looking spirit which permeated the whole nation during the greater part of the three decades immediately preceding the Civil War. To the editors of *Putnam's* the future of "our literature, which is buoyant and full of promise, but for the most part immature"[33] was sure to be of a piece with the glorious destinies of the Republic. Their experience had convinced them "that there is an almost incredible amount of intellectual activity in this country, which, rightly directed, would soon create a brilliant literature for us."[34] Their optimism concerning our literary future was in part a corollary of their faith in democracy. They could confidently affirm that

> As our primeval dependence wears away, as our writers learn to trust to their own inspirations—as the best talent gets more and more emancipated from the active pursuits of enterprise, by getting better paid for literary effort—we shall see a more vigorous exhibition of intellectual force in all departments of literary exertion. The influences of a democratic state of society tend, in the most decided manner, to the development of energy of mind; and it is perfectly rational to expect in this country a rapid and beautiful growth of all kinds of artistic ability.[35]

In similar vein a writer on "A National Drama" called upon his readers to "observe that the highest dramatic literature belongs to the two freest peoples—the Greeks and the English" and drew the inference that our country, having achieved even more freedom than those other two, is destined to greater attainments, in dramatic literature, than any that the world has yet seen.[36]

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[31] See, for example, *Putnam's*, VIII, 95-96 (July, 1856), and IX, 386 (April, 1857). It is also noteworthy that *Putnam's* campaign for international copyright seems to have been motivated as much by the desire to see British authors receive just compensation from American publishers as by the wish to free American authors from the unfair competition of pirated British works. See *ibid.*, I, 26 (Jan., 1853); I, 335 (March, 1853); I, 463 (April, 1853); III, 96-103 (Jan., 1854); IV, iii (Dec., 1854); VIII, 330 (Sept., 1856); IX, 89 (Jan., 1857).

[32] IV, iii (Dec., 1854).

[33] *Putnam's*, VII, 326 (March, 1856).

[34] VII, 546-547 (May, 1856).

[35] VIII, 95 (July, 1856).

[36] IX, 151 (Feb., 1857).

It might have been expected that a magazine so imbued with democratic nationalism would have recognized and rejoiced in the kinship between its principles and those announced by Whitman in 1855. The only mention in *Putnam's* of Whitman or his work, however, occurred in a rather slighting editorial note, which referred to "a curious and lawless collection of poems called *Leaves of Grass*," recognized its indigenous quality by affirming that "aside from America, there is no quarter of the universe where such a production could have had a genesis," but arrived only at the ambiguous verdict that "a compound of the New England transcendentalist and the New York rowdy might have written this gross yet elevated, this superficial yet profound, this preposterous yet somehow fascinating book."[37]

On one occasion *Putnam's* chose to discuss the relation to literary Americanism of another magazine, namely, *Harper's Monthly.* Of that immensely successful contemporary, *Putnam's* somewhat ungraciously though not unjustifiably said that it possessed "no opinions, no politics, no religion" and was, at least during its first years, "in no proper sense an American magazine" but only "a second table of the English periodicals." In the article[38] which contained these disparagements, the statement was made that *Putnam's* was founded because of a feeling that neither *Harper's* nor any other magazine provided an organ "for the intellectual independence and movement of the country," and it was asserted that the success of *Putnam's* caused *Harper's* to become gradually more and more American—if not in spirit, at least in subject matter.

Unfortunately the success here claimed for *Putnam's* was never more than very moderate in respect to circulation and financial returns.[39] Of the first number, twenty thousand copies were sold, and apparently no higher figure was ever attained.[40] In the fall of 1857 *Putnam's,* after the custom of financially unsuccessful magazines, merged with another—in this case *Emerson's,* which published a somewhat fatuous editorial[41] celebrating the "marriage" of the two periodicals, stating (with something less than complete honesty, it is to be feared) that neither was in pecuniary difficulties, and promising a continuation of nationalistic policies. The continuation, however, was brief. The editorial tone of *Emerson's* was often vapid and gushing, and the hybrid was in every way a feeble thing in comparison with the original *Putnam's.* It lasted less than a year.

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[37] V, 321-323 (Sept., 1855).

[38] IX, 293-296 (March, 1857).

[39] The claim that *Putnam's* reformed *Harper's* must also be discounted. It was not until some time after the passing of *Putnam's* that the contents of *Harper's* began to be predominantly of American origin; and not until Howells began conducting the department called "The Editor's Study," in 1885, did *Harper's* contain any substantial criticism of either "literature truly American" or any other literature.

[40] Mott, *op. cit.,* II, 426.

[41] *Emerson's Magazine and Putnam's Monthly,* V, 526-528 (Oct., 1857).

In 1868 an effort was made to revive *Putnam's,* and under the editorships successively of Briggs, Stedman, and Godwin the new series survived until the latter part of 1870. But the revival was not successful; the second series was much inferior to the first, and its circulation never exceeded fifteen hundred copies.[42] With the issue for November, 1870, it suspended publication and its subscription list was sold to the recently founded *Scribner's Monthly.* This was in some respects a fortunate and appropriate end, for *Scribner's* (which changed its name to *Century* in 1881) was destined to become, on a large scale and with notable success, the exemplar of a liberal literary nationalism very similar to that which had animated the original *Putnam's.*

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[42] Mott, *op. cit.*, II, 429.

HANK MONK AND HORACE GREELEY

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FOR A THIRD of a century Hank Monk[1] was one of the best-known stage drivers in the Far West. After he died his fame lived on vigorously for three decades more. As a driver and story-teller he no doubt had his equals, but as the center of a cycle of anecdotes and as a popular hero he surpassed in celebrity any of his compeers. His special prominence arose from a single event in 1859 which associated him briefly with Horace Greeley, who was regarded in the Western mining camps as a very great man. The story of their trip across the Sierra Nevadas, widely circulated within less than six months, became "the topic of the entire coast country,"[2] and popular writers gave it extensive distribution in the East. One can safely say that no other frontier story, true or untrue, has reached a larger audience and amused (or bored) more persons.

Two important contemporary writers who retold the Greeley story denied its truth. Albert Richardson claimed it was "apocryphal," although he did record that certain Californians had given Monk a gold watch in honor of his exploit.[3] Mark Twain, who came to despise the story, said in *Roughing It,* written in 1870-71, that the ride "never occurred" and thus the chief possible virtue of a "worn" and "flat" anecdote was gone.[4]

Evidence proves, however, that the incident actually took place.

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[1] Henry Monk was born in Waddington, St. Lawrence County, N. Y., on March 24, 1826. He always had a great fancy for horses, and once drove eight horses abreast in Boston, during a civic celebration. He came to California in 1852 and began to drive stage between Sacramento and Auburn for the California Stage Company. Later he drove between Sacramento and Placerville. In 1857 and thereafter he drove stage for J. B. Crandall between Placerville and Genoa, Nevada. He continued the run when the line was bought, in turn, by Brady and Sundland, and Wells, Fargo, and Company. He drove Nevada stages for more than twenty years, notably between Virginia City and Carson City for "Billy" Wilson and between Carson City and Glenbrook for "Doc" Benton. He died of pneumonia in Carson City on February 28, 1883 (Gold Hill *News,* March 28, 1876, reprinted in Sacramento *Union,* April 1, 1876; J. A. Yerington, "Stories of Hank Monk," *Sunset,* XII, 24-28, Nov., 1903).

[2] Yerington, *op. cit.,* p. 26.

[3] Albert Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi* (Hartford, 1867), pp. 382-384. As a member of the staff of the New York *Tribune,* Richardson had good reason for minimizing a story that gave undignified treatment to the editor-in-chief.

[4] Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (New York and London, 1913), I, 143.

In his correspondence to the *Tribune,* reprinted the following year, Greeley himself narrated his exciting ride. It began at dawn on August 1 at an inn fifteen miles west of Genoa. The road went up the headwaters of Carson River, over Luther Pass, up Myer's Grade to Johnson Pass, and down the American River Canyon to Placerville.[5] Along a mere shelf,

> with hardly a place to each mile where two meeting wagons can pass, the mail-stage was driven at the rate of ten miles an hour (in one instance eleven), or just as fast as four wild California horses, whom two men could scarcely harness, could draw it. Our driver was of course skillful; but had he met a wagon on suddenly rounding one of the sharp points or projections we were constantly passing, a fearful crash was unavoidable. Had his horses seen fit to run away (as they *did* run once, on the unhooking of a trace, but at a place where he had room to rein them out of the road on the upper side, and thus stop them) I know that he could not have held them, and we might have been pitched headlong down a precipice of a thousand feet, where all of the concern that could have been picked up afterward would not have been worth two bits per bushel. Yet at this break-neck speed we were driven for not less than four hours or forty miles, changing horses every ten or fifteen, and raising a cloud of dust through which it was difficult at times to see anything. . . .

Greeley was glad to find himself in Placerville. It was "a balm for many bruises to know that [he was] at last in California."[6]

Eight years later in his *Recollections of a Busy Life,*[7] Greeley mentioned crossing the double summit on August 1, 1859, but omitted all details of his fast ride to Placerville, going on at once to discuss California forests and the Yosemite. His exclusion of a major travel experience is explained by what Joseph Goodman, editor of the Virginia City *Enterprise,* told Albert Bigelow Paine years afterward.

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[5] Following is a table of distances from Sacramento to Carson City "via Placerville and Carson Valley Road." Figures indicate miles from Sacramento. Folsom, 22; Shingle Springs, 37; Mud Springs, 44; Diamond Springs, 45; Placerville, 48; Elk Horn House, 55; Sportsman's Hall, 60; Junction House, 64; South Fork Bridge, 67; Summit Hill, 69; Brockliss' Post, 75; Peavine Hill, 77; Silver Creek, 84; Valley South Fork, 87; Strawberry Valley, 91; Slippery Ford, 93; Boulder Hill, 94; Summit Sierra, 100; Lake Valley, 101; Marlett's Flat, 104; Hope Valley, 108; Woodford's, 112; Van Sickles', 129; Genoa Station, 131; Carson City, 145 (*The Sacramento Directory of 1861-1862,* pp. 165-166; *Guide to Degroot's Map of Nevada Territory,* San Francisco, 1862, p. 6).

[6] Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859* (New York, 1860), pp. 280-282.

[7] New York, 1868, pp. 379-380.

> When I was going East in 1869 I happened to see Hank Monk just before I started. "Mr. Goodman," he said, "you tell Horace Greeley that I want to come East, and ask him to send me a pass." "All right, Hank," I said, "I will." It happened that when I got to New York City one of the first men I met was Greeley. "Mr. Greeley," I said, "I have a message for you from Hank Monk." Greeley bristled and glared at me. "That—rascal?" he said. "He has done me more injury than any other man in America."[8]

The "injury" was in the form of a short anecdote that contained undignified dialogue. The original version was no doubt very close to that in a letter from "Cornish" to the popular San Francisco *Golden Era.* "Cornish" told of crossing the Sierras with Hank Monk, "a young man of about twenty-five years . . . a perfect Jehu—a great 'whip,' " who recounted the trip.

> Just before I left Strawberry, Mr. Greeley called me one side: "Driver," said he, "can you get me into Placerville this evening by 5 o'clock, because the committee expect me, and I do not wish to disappoint them; this is the last telegraph station, and *if you are not sure* I will send them a message; if there is anything I dislike in this world 'tis to be disappointed, so do not promise unless you are *certain."* "I'll get you there," says I, and off we went. I drove him to Dick's,[9] eleven miles, in fifty-three minutes. (This part of the road is almost indescribable—down hill and over huge boulders.)[10] Just before I got to Dick's I looked into the coach and there was Greeley, his bare head bobbing, sometimes on the back and then on the front seat, sometimes in the coach and then out, then on top and then in the bottom, holding on to whatever he could grab. Presently some one touched me on the back: "Driver," said a voice, *"I am not particular for an hour or two!" "Horace,"* says I, *"keep your seat!* I told you I would get you there by 5 o'clock, and by G—, I'll do it, if the axles hold!" *And I did.* When I arrived at Sportsman's Hall there was the committee, with a carriage and six horses.—Mr. Greeley had become pretty familiar by this time. "Hank," says he, "when you get into Placerville call on me immediately. I wish to see you. Of course, I shall proceed from this point more rapidly than you." "All right!" said I, and away he went. I had a bully team, took a short cut, drove like the d—l, and was in a long time ahead. I was standing among the crowd when Greeley arrived. He called the proprietor of the hotel to him and said: "When Hank comes in, be sure and tell him I wish to

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[8] Albert B. Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York and London, 1912), I, 303.

[9] Perhaps Collins' Station. There is no Dick's on contemporary maps.

[10] Interpolation by "Cornish."

see him." Says I, "Horace, I've been here an hour and a half!" "Young man," says he, "come with me;" and he took me up street and bought me the best suit of clothes he could find in Placerville.[11]

The story, for which this may be considered the original text, spread through the California and Nevada mining camps and along the Western stage routes with all the speed of "a good thing." If one can believe the evidence in *Roughing It,* in 1861, when Twain first came West, the Greeley story was one of the hazards of travel. In one chapter[12] Twain has the tale told identically four full times—by a driver near Julesburg on the Platte River, by a Denver man picked up at a Wyoming crossroads, by a soldier at Fort Bridger, and by a Mormon preacher eight hours out of Salt Lake City. A "poor wanderer" near Ragtown, Nevada, is not allowed to finish the anecdote and dies at once from the strain of holding it in. The version they tell introduces a hole in the roof. It keeps the trip on the true route, Carson to Placerville, but begins the conversation at Carson, however, and not at Strawberry. Twain's fellow travelers all tell what they announce as "a very laughable thing indeed, if you would like to listen to it," and then proceed without a pause.

> Horace Greeley went over this road once. When he was leaving Carson City he told the driver, Hank Monk, that he had an engagement to lecture at Placerville and was very anxious to go through quick. Hank Monk cracked his whip and started off at an awful pace. The coach bounced up and down in such a terrific way that it jolted his head clean through the roof of the stage, and then he yelled at Hank Monk and begged him to go easier—said he warn't in as much of a hurry as he was awhile ago. But Hank Monk said, "Keep your seat, Horace, and I'll get you there on time!"—and you bet he did, what was left of him![13]

In repeating this story four times in immediate succession, Twain was obviously satirizing the uncritical repetition of the anecdote in the West. *Roughing It* appeared in 1872. At least twice before Twain had publicly burlesqued the popularity of the story. In his lecture in Virginia City in 1866 he repeated the story several times to miners already sick of it,[14] and afterwards in a lecture in San Francisco he "did the daring thing of repeating three times the worn-out story of Horace Greeley's ride with Hank Monk." The first time there was no laughter and the audience felt sorry for him. The second time, astonished, they pitied him. The third time he worked the story in they saw his intention and laughed themselves hysterical.[15]

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[11] *Golden Era,* April 15, 1860, p. 5.

[12] Twain, *op. cit.,* Chapter XX, "What Hank Said to Horace Greeley," pp. 137-143.

[13] "The particulars of that drive as told by Mark Twain are not all correct" (Hank Monk, paraphrased in Gold Hill *News,* March 28, 1876).

[14] Virginia City *Union,* Nov. 12, 1866.

Twain's cruel repetition was his own natural reaction to a painful experience. Even if his testimony in *Roughing It* be greatly discounted, he had heard too often what Hank said to Horace. Twain testifies that in six years he crossed the Sierras thirteen times by stage and listened to the story over four hundred and eighty times—as told by drivers, conductors, landlords, chance passengers, "Chinamen," and Indians. The same drivers would tell it two or three times in one afternoon. A traveler heard it flavored with cologne, tobacco, garlic, onions, grasshoppers, and whiskey. Says Twain, "I never have smelt any anecdote as often as I smelt that one; never have smelled any anecdote that smelt so variegated as that one." The traveler would think that the real wonder of the Pacific coast was not the Yosemite or the giant Sequoias, or even Lake Tahoe, but only the trip Greeley had with Hank Monk.[16]

While in California and Nevada in 1863-64, Artemus Ward learned the story and both modified and extended it. As it appears in *Artemus Ward: His Travels* and the *Complete Works*[17] and the several reprints of portions of Artemus Ward, it is as hilarious as it is truly apocryphal.[18] It reverses Greeley's route, substituting the west-east one that Ward himself followed in his approach to Placerville. Late in the afternoon the stage company at Folsom, twenty-four miles west of Placerville, asked Hank Monk to get "this great man" to Placerville by seven in the evening. With abundant detail, Ward tells how Monk drove slow for a while, over roads that were in "an awful stage," as Greeley exhorted him to hurry. Then, still driving laconically, Monk whipped up his horses to a terrific speed, so that Greeley bounced "from one end of the coach to the other like an india-rubber ball" and eventually managed to get his head out of the window to ask, "Do-on't-on't-on't you-u-u-u think we-e-e-e shall get there by seven if we do-on't-on't-on't go so fast?" Finally a frightful jolt forced Mr. Greeley's bald head through the roof. "Stop, you — maniac!" he roared, but Monk replied with the famous line, "Keep your seat, Horace!" Ward describes an elaborate delegation with a military company, a brass band, and a wagonload of beautiful girls that were assembled at Mud Springs to escort Greeley the remaining four miles to Placerville. Hank slowed down. "Is Mr. Greeley on board?" asked the chairman of the committee. "He was, a few miles back," said Hank, who looked down through the hole. "Yes, yes, I can see him! He is there!" But Hank would not stop. He cried, "I've got my orders!" and dashed on toward Placerville, Greeley's head ever and anon showing itself "like a wild apparition, above the coach-roof." Ward's fiction corresponds in one detail to "Cornish's" version: "There is a tradition that Mr. Greeley was very indignant for awhile; then he laughed, and finally presented Mr. Monk with a bran-new suit of clothes." Ward also states that Monk "is rather fond of relating a story that has made him famous all over the Pacific coast."

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[15] Paine, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

[16] Twain, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-143.

[17] Charles F. Browne, *Artemus Ward: His Travels* (New York, 1865); *The Complete Works of Charles F. Browne, Better Known as "Artemus Ward"* (London, n.d.).

[18] Don C. Seitz in *Horace Greeley* (Indianapolis, 1926), p. 306, says, "Ward's narrative of the incident has never been contradicted." Seitz also recalls that in the early 1890's Monk drove the overland stage for the Wild West show run by Nate Saulsbury and Buffalo Bill. Monk died in 1883.

Ward's version of the anecdote was read before Congress. In the House of Representatives on March 29, 1866, Representative Hulburd of New York quoted a Greeley editorial that castigated some remarks of his on a loan bill and advised him and others to bring about immediate resumption of specie payments. Hulburd commented that Greeley was going a little too fast, that he was in as much of a hurry as once on the Pacific coast, and asked the Clerk to read an account of Greeley's ride with Hank Monk. The Clerk read it while the House laughed. Afterwards Representative Ingersoll of Illinois wanted to expunge the story from the records of the House. It was disgraceful to the body that it would waste "so much time in listening to such balderdash and nonsense." But the House took no parliamentary action and serious debate went on.[19]

A quantity of miscellaneous material testifies to the renown that the Greeley episode gave to Hank Monk. A special correspondent of the San Francisco *Alta,* "Traviata," told stories of Monk and called him "a celebrity on the *stage,* almost rivalling Charles Kean."[20] A correspondent of the New York *Tribune* who was riding from Glenbrook to Carson City

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[19] *The Congressional Globe, Containing the Debates and Proceedings of the First Session of the Thirty-ninth Congress,* pp. 1531-1532.

[20] San Francisco *Alta,* Nov. 18, 1864.

> asked the driver if he had ever heard of Hank Monk, the famous whipster who had given Mr. Greeley such excellent advice about keeping his seat when the stage was in motion. I soon found I was talking to the man himself, and I involuntarily raised my hat to the modest hero. Hank is too shrewd a man to throw away the glory that his legend sheds upon him, and so encourages its repetition in detail. Aside from Hank Monk's facetious fame as Mr. Greeley's driver, he enjoys the universal reputation of being the most fearless and scientific, as well as the safest reinsman in this Western country.[21]

News items about Monk that appeared in Nevada papers were frequently reprinted in California papers.[22] Wild, incredible "reminiscences" by alleged "old-timers" came out in newspapers.[23] Monk's pranks and stories were frequently retold.[24] The story of the Greeley ride was retold or alluded to by numerous writers.[25]

C. C. Goodwin commemorated Monk's death with an eloquent obituary that began,

> The famous stage driver is dead. He has been on the down grade for some time. On Wednesday his foot lost its final hold on the brake and his coach could not be stopped until, battered and broken on a sharp turn, it went over into the canyon, black and deep, which we call death.[26]

A Carson City paper said:

> His friend Horace ought to do the fair thing by him and be on hand at the pearly gates with a blazing chariot and a spanking team of angels,

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[21] *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1871.

[22] For example, *ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1878, and Aug. 10, 1881.

[23] One from the New York *Sun* was reprinted in the San Jose *Pioneer*, April 6, 1878; one from the Leadville *Democrat*, in the San Francisco *Call*, March 5, 1885.

[24] Virginia City *Enterprise*, reprinted in the San Francisco *Alta*, July 18, 1874; C. C. Goodwin, *As I Remember Them* (Salt Lake City, 1913); Wells Drury, *An Editor on the Comstock Lode* (New York, 1936); William Wright (Dan de Quille), *History of the Big Bonanza* (Hartford and San Francisco, 1876).

[25] In addition to those mentioned in the text, by George H. and Captain William Banning, *Six Horses* (New York, 1930); Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent* (Springfield, 1866); C. W. Haskins, *The Argonauts of California* . . . (New York, 1890); Harvey Rice, *Letters from the Pacific Slope* (New York, 1870); Frank Root, *Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, 1901); William Wright, *op. cit.*, Mark Twain claimed that the story was recounted by Ross Browne and Bayard Taylor, but it does not appear in any of their books on the West. Joaquin Miller made Hank Monk the hero of the "poetic" play, "Tally-Ho!" (in *Joaquin Miller's Poems,* San Francisco, 1910, VI, 123-167). In this murder melodrama Monk retells the incident as occurring on a tally-ho east bound over the Sierras. One twentieth-century error takes the locale of the ride from the Sierras and places it in the Virginia Range, on the steep Geiger Grade from Virginia City down toward Reno (Rufus Steele, "The University and Diversity of Nevada," *Sunset,* XXXII, 95, May, 1914; Max Miller, *Reno,* New York, 1941, p. 65).

[26] Virginia City *Enterprise,* March 6, 1883.

send Hank spinning over the golden pavements at a speed that would remind the old Jehu of other days.[27]

Many persons treasured pictures of Monk. These showed his curly hair, long moustache, dark beard, straight glance, and keen eye. They were captioned "the noted Stage Driver of the Sierras." One such picture still hangs in the taproom of the brewery in Carson City. In 1903 the Nevada Exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis displayed Monk's watch and many other personal possessions and also the coach that Greeley rode in.[28]

The question rises, Why was the story of Monk and Greeley told with gusto so many thousands of times? There are several answers. (1) Its personages were important: the great New York editor who advocated the Pacific railroad and other popular causes, and the man of the people who was an acknowledged master of the profession of stage driving, in the days when a driver had all the personal prestige of a pilot on the Mississippi. (2) It was a local story, to be told to visitors and new arrivals from the East, and newcomers were abundant, especially on the Placerville road, which during bonanza days in Virginia City was one of the nation's leading thoroughfares. (3) It was a good story. It had brisk dialogue, action, and point. It invited detailed elaboration. It showed the native humiliating the greenhorn, the West outdoing the East. It turned on characterization. Its ending was droll. It dramatized speed, efficiency, keeping on schedule, daring, and uncanny skill. (4) To make its qualities all the more substantial, it was true.

First-hand evidence of what a veteran *raconteur* of the story thought of it appeared in the Chicago *Record* during March, 1897, in a feature story[29] by Carl Smith. Smith was in Carson City during the training period of James Corbett and "Bob" Fitzsimmons, prior to their championship prizefight on March 18. According to his account, Smith wished to hire a rig to follow one of the fighters along the road during a workout and went to a large livery stable owned by "Doc" Benton.[30] Smith asked Benton what the hire would cost, and Benton said he would have to see what time it was. He pulled a massive gold watch from his pocket and looked reflectively at it. Ignoring the question as to the price, he started talking about the watch. It had belonged to Hank Monk, who drove for him sixteen years. Some San Franciscans had given it to Monk, and Benton had inherited it. The watch was large, heavy, and elaborate. Inside the case was an inscription that asserted friendship and admiration for Hank and quoted the line: "Keep your seat, Horace." Teasingly, Smith asked Benton what it meant, although he had already heard the story "repeatedly and tirelessly," thirty-two times, since his arrival a week or so before. Benton promptly started to repeat the story. Many times Smith interrupted him to ask irrelevant questions. How far away is Placerville? What was the exact speed? How much horse power was exerted? What was the exact gradient? How big a crowd did Mr. Greeley have at Placerville? Did Mr. Greeley have time to take a bath before appearing? Benton stared at Smith and then gazed at the watch in his hand.

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[27] Quoted in Yerington, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[28] *Ibid.* One can wonder whether or not the authentic coach was exhibited. A. H. Hawley, who was proprietor of a trading post in Lake Valley, on the Upper Carson River, at the time Greeley crossed westward, wrote long ago that Greeley rode "in a miserable little old four horse team and small mud wagon instead of the high toned outfit that is so much talked about" ("Lake Tahoe—1883," MS in Bancroft Library, reprinted in *Nevada Historical Papers, 1913-1916,* Carson City, I, 177). Greeley's own account specifies four horses only.

[29] Reprinted in Carson *Morning Appeal,* March 23, 1897.

> Pshaw, friend, you don't seem to understand the point of the thing at all. It ain't the speed. It ain't the horses, it ain't the road, it ain't the crowd at the opera house—it is just Hank and Horace. There's the point of it, don't you see? In Hank and Horace. "Keep your seat, Horace," says Hank, "and I'll see you through."

After more interruptions from Smith, Benton made it clear that to him the story was the most vivid piece of literature on earth. It was a short drama of two strong wills in conflict on a careening stage in the rugged Sierras. The teller identified himself with the triumphant Westerner. He, too, uttered the classic impertinence:

> Oh, pshaw! pshaw! . . . It wasn't so much the case of the ride, although that's something, nor speed, as I've said, though that was something, too. But it was Hank and Horace. Just imagine Hank looking down and saying: "Keep your seat, Horace! . . ."

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[30] James M. Benton, proprietor of Livery and Feed Stable, later Livery and Ice Dealers; listed in *Nevada Directories* from 1868-69 to 1925.

THE BASIS FOR POE'S "THE ISLAND OF THE FAY"

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THE BASIS FOR Edgar Allan Poe's "The Island of the Fay" and the circumstances of its first printing have generally been overlooked by Poe scholars. Many misleading statements and incorrect inferences have resulted from the oversight. This prose-fantasy, which has found a place in a number of representative anthologies of Poe's tales, was based upon—the term "inspired by" might possibly be employed—an engraving of the same title. Mr. Henry Seidel Canby has seen a Currier and Ives print which he regards as the source of Poe's conception of the ideal home as he describes it in "Landor's Cottage."[1] No other tale by Poe has been identified as originating in whole or in part from a picture.

The occasion for the composition of "The Island of the Fay," as well as its inspiration, is different from that of the other tales and fantasies. It was first printed in *Graham's Magazine* for June, 1841.[2] The piece was probably written as a journalistic assignment. Many people even in Poe's own day thought of him as the editor-in-chief, or as one of the editors in general charge of the magazine. His true position in Graham's office has only recently been sufficiently clarified. Mr. Arthur Hobson Quinn, despite his misleading chapter title, "At the Summit—Editor of *Graham's,*" has shown that Graham and Chas. J. Peterson were the editors of the main body of the magazine, and that Poe was editor of the critical department only.[3] This makes it probable that Peterson or Graham asked Poe to write the text to go with the Sartain mezzotint for June.

The custom then prevailing of writing a poem or a sketch to go with a picture is unfamiliar to present-day readers. *Godey's Lady's Book* at the time of its establishment in 1830 began offering its readers an occasional mezzotint or line engraving. Competitors and imitators followed, and before the end of the 1830's the *Lady's Book, Burton's Gentleman's Magazine,* and *Atkinson's Casket* issued some sort of engraving each month. The first piece of writing in each issue was a poem, tale, or sketch "illustrating our fine engraving." This practice of writing letterpress for the engravings instead of commissioning illustrations for the text can be traced back to the gift annuals which American publishers had begun to print in the mid 1820's. The practice originated apparently in expediency: it was cheaper to get original writing on a given subject than original illustrations.[4]

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[1] Henry Seidel Canby, *Classic Americans* (New York, 1931), p. 273. The fact that Currier and Ives prints did not exist as such during Poe's lifetime offers no serious objection to Mr. Canby's suggestion. The firm may have later copied a picture which Poe had seen. The suggestion is an interesting one, but several biographical facts will have to be reconciled, and the print itself identified before the suggestion can be taken as fact.

[2] XVIII, 253-255.

[3] *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1941), pp. 305-345. A definitive examination of the evidence can be found in William D. Hull, II, "A Canon of the Critical Works of Edgar Allan Poe, with a Study of Poe as Editor and Reviewer" (unpublished dissertation, University of Virginia, 1941), pp. 275-302.

Practically all the texts for the embellishments in the Godey type of magazine were written upon assignment. With the exception of an occasional expository essay in *Burton's,* the authors took extended liberties in their interpretations of the pictures, and packed the tales or poems with the most banal moralizing. While Poe was with *Graham's* in 1841, *Godey's* assigned one man to write all the poems, regardless of subject, to "illustrate" eleven consecutive monthly engravings.

George R. Graham, with the first issue of his magazine in January, 1841, initiated the bold policy of printing a monthly mezzotint by John Sartain, the best engraver of the day. It was the "embellishments" that Graham emphasized when at the end of the year he boasted of a success which he ventured was unparalleled in magazine history.[5]

Though the engravings were beautifully done, the pictures Graham chose during the time Poe was connected with the magazine were of the usual insipid but popular subjects—"contemptible," Poe called them after he had broken off with the magazine.[6] That he disapproved of the general principle of writing a text for the picture, instead of commissioning a picture to illustrate the text, we know from the prospectus for his own magazine, the *Penn:* "The pictorial embellishments will be numerous, and by the leading artists of the country, but will be introduced only in the necessary illustration of the text."[7] Of about thirty "illustrations" which had to be written during Poe's connection with *Burton's* and *Graham's,* Poe did only one other—"Stonehenge," a purely expository, not a creative, piece of writing.[8] The contempt in which he held this practice, and his failure to write more of the "plate articles" incline us to believe that had he been displeased with *The Island of the Fay* he would have refused to write the "illustration," or would have written either a matter-of-fact or a facetious exposition.

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[4] There were exceptions to the rule, especially later. The first four volumes of the *Opal,* for instance, contain texts illustrated with designs by John G. Chapman (engraver not given). Poe's "Morning on the Wissahiccon" (*Opal,* 1844, pp. 249-256) is therefore not to be mistaken for an "illustration" of the engraving of an elk that accompanies it. Mr. Quinn says that Poe based this sketch on an actual experience (*Edgar Allan Poe,* New York, 1941, p. 397).

[5] *Graham's Magazine,* XIX, 308 (Dec., 1841).

[6] Poe to F. W. Thomas, May 25, 1842 (James A. Harrison, *The Life and Letters of Edgar Allan Poe,* New York, 1903, II, 111).

Whether Poe first saw the engraving and then volunteered a sketch, or the work fell to him as the only man in the office who could do it at the time, the fact remains that in this picture we have the basis for one of Poe's more fanciful prose-poems. If the original painting can be found, its value should be enhanced by this connection with Poe. As it appeared in *Graham's,* the engraving of *The Island of the Fay* was marked as done by John Sartain "for Graham's Magazine from an Original by Martin." Without seeing the original picture, it is impossible to say positively that this Martin is the English painter, John Martin. The facts of his biography and the nature of his paintings, however, are almost enough to convince us that he must have been the artist. Born in 1789, he first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1812, with his *Sadak in Search of Oblivion.* In this picture "the little figure of Sadak was almost lost in the wild landscape of gigantic rocks."[9] Though chiefly known for his dramatic episodes of history in which masses of tiny figures are overwhelmed by storming earth and sky,[10] he nevertheless painted many landscapes, among which were scenes on the Thames, the Brent, the Wandle, the Wey and the Sittingbourne. The tiny figures and the landscapes involving streams definitely point to *The Island of the Fay.*

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[7] Harrison, *op. cit.,* II, 61.

[8] Edgar Allan Poe, "Some Accounts of Stonehenge, The Giant's Dance, A Druidical Ruin in England," *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine,* VI, 251-252 (June, 1840). See also Mr. J. O. Bailey's "Poe's Stonehenge," *Studies in Philology,* XXXVIII, 645-651 (Oct., 1941). Mr. Bailey has given a most valuable account of a phase of Poe's journalistic practices. His article would have been even stronger had it taken into account the fact that Poe's essay was letterpress for an engraving of Stonehenge. Mr. Bailey was evidently working from Harrison's text, and therefore did not notice the picture which accompanied the first printing in *Burton's.* His second paragraph should be read with this in view.

[9] *D. N. B.,* XXXVI, 282-284.

[10] See Mary L. Pendered, *John Martin, Painter: His Life and Times* (New York, 1924), *passim.*

Before John Sartain left England for Philadelphia in 1830 he had known John Martin.[11] In 1849, eight years after he did *The Island of the Fay,* he made an engraving for his own magazine from *The Annunciation to the Shepherds,* an "original by John Martin."[12] No matter what type of publication he was working for, Sartain nearly always gives the name of the owner if he is engraving from an original painting. *The Annunciation to the Shepherds* and *The Island of the Fay* are two of the rare exceptions marked "from the original," but with no owner given. Did these pictures belong to him personally? He says in his reminiscences over a half-century later:

> We never hear the name of John Martin, the artist, associated as it should be with this great public improvement. . . . I have an etching by him, done not later than 1825, giving a perspective view along a street he planned. . . . His fertile brain had also perfected a project for supplying London with an abundance of pure water by bringing the river Coln [*sic*] to its doors, through a varied and beautiful landscape, to be planted as a park most of the way. I possess three or four of his etchings of the scenery that he designed to create for the passage of the stream, which occasionally descends in picturesque cascades.[13]

The Island of the Fay might conceivably be one of these etchings, though if it is there is some awkwardness in accounting for the presence of the fay. It is almost a certainty, however, that the picture was by John Martin, and it is possible that the original was in the possession of Sartain.

In his prose-fantasy Poe was faithful to the physical composition of the engraving in all save one detail. The fay, instead of circling the island, as Poe represents her as doing, is making her way towards the shaded portions of its shore. It is to physical composition alone, however, that he felt constricted by the artist's work. In his interpretation of the picture, Poe's imagination had led him far beyond his inspiration. He has intensified the highlights and has endowed the very shadows with life. An artist inspired by Poe's prose-picture would produce a painting entirely different from Martin's original. Mild romanticism would give way to a symbolism wherein even the inanimate lives.

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[11] John Sartain, *The Reminiscences of a Very Old Man* (New York, 1899), p. 15.

[12] *Sartain's Union Magazine,* IV, opposite p. 1 (Jan., 1849). I have examined hundreds of engravings in the magazines, "embellished" books, and gift annuals of the day. I have found no other engraver copying Martin's paintings.

[13] Sartain, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

The tale—it is frequently referred to thus—which this picture inspired has been favored by the attention of many critics; it has not, however, been considered an unqualified success. There is both external and internal evidence of journalistic haste. At the end of the piece as it was printed in *Graham's* appeared the date: "Philadelphia, May, 1841." Six months later Poe wrote to Richard Bolton of Pontococ, Mississippi:

> You must know, then, that our edition is, *in fact,* exceedingly large. We print 25,000 copies. Of course much time is required to prepare them. Our last "form" necessarily goes to press a full month in advance of the day of issue. It often happens, moreover, that the last form *in order* is not the last in press. Our *first* form is usually held back until the last moment on account of the "plate article."[14]

Evidently, the "plate article" was a hastily gotten up piece. The circulation for June was not so great as for the December issue which Poe refers to. It can be calculated by graph at around seventeen thousand. This smaller number for printing would make it possible for Poe to date a June article in the first few days of May. The dating—unusual for a Poe article in *Graham's*—was probably the authentic date of composition. "The Island of the Fay" therefore seems to have been written under pressure for time, and very near the first of May.

Internally, the evidence of haste is even more conclusive. Poe prefaced his sketch with his old "Sonnet to Science," having substituted a fay for the Hamadryads which science destroys. He marked this sonnet anonymous, possibly because he had already begun to doubt the truth for him of his earlier Keatsian protest against science. In the first half of the prose-fantasy which followed, Poe contradicted the spirit of the sonnet by making it perfectly clear that science had opened great new vistas for his poetic imagination. This contradiction is the first evidence of the patch-work which characterizes this magazine piece when it is judged as a whole.

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[14] Poe to Richard Bolton, Philadelphia, Nov. 18, 1841 ("Ancient Letter of Poe Shows Origin of Gold Bug," *The Commercial Appeal,* Memphis, Tenn., Nov. 15, 1925, Sec. IV, p. 7, photostat, University of Virginia Library).

The defects in the prose were such that Poe himself should have been the first to notice. Whether we judge "The Island of the Fay" by logical analysis or by Poe's own standard of totality of effect, we find that it falls far short of unity. The desultory introduction, containing passages excellent in themselves, comprises two fifths of the fantasy. There is an elaborate but slightly irrelevant idea which introduces another elaborate and little less irrelevant thought. This leads to a vibrantly expressed belief in the pervading vitality of matter and the unity of the universe. Three loosely strung ideas thus serve as an introduction to the writing that follows, having prepared the reader not at all for the mood to be created there, except in so far as part of it has led him to expect a poetic expression of that mood. Towards the middle of the piece, however, when Poe begins his real subject, the movement steadies, and the author progresses to his goal with scarcely less hesitation than in "The Cask of Amontillado."

We know by this token that no matter under what circumstances Poe originally became interested in the picture, he was in the end thoroughly aroused by it. The ideas and moods, although lacking in unity, are thoroughly characteristic. The concept of an animated, even sentient, universe definitely anticipates *Eureka.* Within three months Poe had incorporated the scenery and mood of the island and its fay in "Eleonora." Nothing, finally, could be more typical of Poe than the central image of this prose-fantasy, the image of a gentle, delicate woman wasting away, shadow by shadow, into a last ebony of darkness.

THREE UNCOLLECTED ST. LOUIS INTERVIEWS OF WALT WHITMAN

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WHITMAN'S first visit to St. Louis on his return to New York after his experiences as editor of the New Orleans *Daily Crescent* in 1848 came when he was young and not well enough known to receive recognition from the press, but when he undertook his second trip to the West to attend the quarter-centennial celebration of the settlement of Kansas in 1879 and made one brief and one long stop in St. Louis, the newspapers eagerly noted his presence in the city. Whitman made the journey because Colonel John W. Forney and the Old Settlers of Kansas Committee had invited him to read his poetry at the Kansas Celebration, held on September 15 and 16 of that year,[1] and because he wished to see the West and visit his brother, Thomas Jefferson Whitman, water commissioner of St. Louis, and family.

Specimen Days contains Whitman's own prose account of his railroad trip to Denver and of the abundance of materialistic wealth he found in St. Louis and the state of Missouri.[2] He left West Philadelphia with Colonel Forney and party on the evening of September 10 and reached St. Louis on the morning of September 12.

The presence in St. Louis of Colonel Forney and other well-known men of his group was important enough for newspapers to send reporters to interview them. Whitman was noticed not only because of his name but also because of his unusual dress and features. On September 13, the day after his visit, two daily papers printed accounts of what the poet said and did in the city. The first one of these quoted below, which was captioned "Walt Whitman, the Poet," is significant, because it reveals his literary interests at the period, as well as details of his St. Louis sojourn:

> Among those who accompany John W. Forney to the Kansas celebration is Walt. Whitman, the poet, an oddity in appearance as in his writ-

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[1] See my article, "Walt Whitman in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly,* X, 150-154 (May, 1941).

[2] Richard M. Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel (eds.), *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902), "Prose," I, 252-258.

ings. Although as young as his travelling companion, Mr. Forney, he is much more venerable and patriarchal in appearance. His quaint garb and primitive collar served to attract attention to the old gentleman.

"From Camden, are you not, Mr. Whitman?"

"Yes, but rather from New York, for there I was born and live."

"On your way to the Kansas celebration, are you not?"

"Yes, Col. Forney asked me to accompany him, and I embraced the opportunity of briefly visiting my brother . . . and his family here. Go to Kansas on conditions, however," and Mr. Whitman smiled quaintly.

"And those conditions were?"

"I agreed to go, provided I was not asked to speak nor eat any public dinners. I am only to show myself. I call myself a half paralytic, and yet I am not so feeble after all, nor so old as I look, for that matter. I was born in 1819. After the Kansas celebration, if I feel as well as now, I shall go out to Denver before I return here to pay my brother a more extended visit."

"What do you expect to do in Kansas?"

"As I told you, I shall not make speeches or eat public dinners, but the people will have an opportunity to see this big, saucy red rooster, whom they might otherwise think would speak."

"Your literary labors, do they still engross your attention?"

"Oh, yes; I still write, and this winter shall read my own poems in public and also lecture. Meantime I am writing gossipy letters to the New York *Tribune* and Philadelphia papers. I have written four letters lately to the *Tribune*. I greatly enjoy it."

"Better than twenty years ago, when you were in Boston getting some book printed?"

"Oh (smiling), that was my 'Leaves of Grass.' Yes, I like my present life better—rambling about a little. I like to meet people, and especially the young men of the press. I think American boys are very companionable, the friendliest in the world. As I have noted in my poem, I think American youths, more than any other, are possessed of that high quality and gift, comradeship. But especially do I like to meet writers and young men of the craft. I am a printer, and can yet stick type with the average compositor."

"Have you been West much?"

"Your question reminds me that I am called a Western man. Although born in New York, I am in sympathy and preference Western—better fitted for the Mississippi Valley."

Although he is known to be for Grant in 1880, before Mr. Whitman could be further interrogated on political matters, he was called off by his nieces and other young ladies, who took possession of him for a carriage drive. He yielded, with a promise of a further interview upon his return here from Colorado.[3]

The second article was not written in the form of a conversation, but began with a description of the Forney party's activities during the day and proceeded in a paragraph entitled "Walt Whitman" to tell of the poet's personal appearance and of his comments on his journey:

> Col. J. W. Forney of Philadelphia and Walt Whitman, the poet, arrived in the city yesterday and with their party took rooms at the Planters' house. Both are billed to take leading parts in the Kansas quarter centennial celebration at Lawrence next Monday, Col. Forney having agreed to deliver the chief oration of the day and Mr. Whitman being the poet of the occasion. . . . The train arrived three hours late, but as the party only intended to stop one day in the city, they immediately started out sight-seeing as soon as they had their breakfast. Col. Forney with Mr. Reitzel was taken in charge by friends and drove to Tower Grove park, Shaw's garden and the Fair ground. Mr. Whitman was the guest of his brother, Mr. Thos. J. Whitman, the water commissioner. Both parties had a pleasant afternoon and interesting routes and put in the time to advantage.
>
> . . . .
>
> Walt Whitman
>
> Walt Whitman is a man well advanced in years and his snow-white hair and the long white beard which grows upon a large portion of his face give him a decidedly venerable appearance. He wore a gray travelling suit and his shirt-bosom was left open at the neck, something after the fashion of the Goddess of Liberty as shown on a fifty-cent piece. He walks with a cane, using considerable care, as he has not fully recovered from a paralytic stroke. A REPUBLICAN reporter found him in very cheerful humor and congratulating himself that he had suffered no more by the journey. At Urbana, O., their train met with a serious accident, colliding with another train and wrecking both engines. Fortunately nobody was killed though several persons were injured by broken glass and the shock. The incident was quite sufficient to try the nerves of those on board. Mr. Whitman expressed himself as highly pleased with St. Louis. In response to a question as to his future movements, he stated that he intended to go on to Colorado next week for a short stay only. It is his intention to recuperate as much as possible this fall, and he feels much encouraged to hope that he will be able to carry out his programme

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[3] St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Sept. 13, 1879.

already formed for an extended lecture tour. He contemplates taking the field as a lecturer and reader of his own poems. The Colorado trip, he said, was not fully decided upon, and in case it was not carried out, he would probably return to St. Louis.[4]

After almost two weeks of new and pleasurable experiences in Kansas and Colorado, Whitman went back to St. Louis, where he spent approximately three months at the home of his brother before returning East on January 5, 1880.[5] In *Specimen Days* in a jotting called "An Interviewer's Item," written on October 17, 1879, he quotes only a part of a long and very important printed conversation between him and a reporter, which appeared in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* on the same day.[6] This notice, entitled "Walt Whitman," explains almost as adequately as any statement in his collected writings his concepts of literature and poetry, his opinion of American writers, and his interest in America and the West. It, as well as the articles in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* and in the St. Louis *Republican,* contributes greatly to a fuller knowledge of Whitman's travels in the West and to a more complete understanding of his theories of literature and democracy:

> Walt Whitman, the poet, is visiting his brother at 2316 Pine street, in this city, resting after his trip to Kansas, and recovering from an attack of sickness. Mr. Whitman is a very remarkable looking man. His long, snow-white hair flows down and mingles with his fleecy beard, giving him a venerable expression, which his grave eyes and well-marked features confirm. Whitman impresses one at once as being a sage, and his thoughtful, original speech confirms the idea.
>
> A POST-DISPATCH reporter called on the author of "Leaves of Grass" this morning, and after a somewhat desultory conversation abruptly asked him:
>
> "Do you think we are to have a distinctively American literature?"
>
> "It seems to me," said he, "that our work at present, and for a long time to come, is to lay the materialistic foundations of a great nation, in products, in commerce, in vast networks of intercommunication, and in all that relates to the comforts and supplies of vast masses of men and families, on a very grand scale, and those with freedom of speech and
>
> ECCLESIASTICISM.
>
> This we have founded and are carrying out on a grander scale than ever hitherto, and it seems to me that those great central States from Ohio to

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[4] St. Louis *Republican,* Sept. 13, 1879.

[5] Bucke *et al.* (eds.), *op. cit.,* p. 284.

[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 277-278.

Colorado, and from Lake Superior down to Tennessee, the prairie States, will be the theater of our great future. Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Kansas and Colorado seem to me to be the seat and field of these very ideas. They seem to be carrying them out.

"Materialistic prosperity in all its varied forms and on the grand scale of our times, with those other points that I mentioned, intercommunication and freedom, are first to be attended to. When those have their results and get settled then a literature worthy of us will begin to be defined from our nebulous conditions. Although we have elegant and finished writers, none of them express America or her spirit in any respect whatever."

"What will be the character of the American literature when it does form?"

"Do you know that I have thought of that vaguely often, but have never before been asked the question. It will be something entirely new, entirely different. As we are a new nation with almost a new geography, and a new spirit, the expression of them will have to be new. In form, in combination we shall take

THE SAME OLD FONT OF TYPE,

but what we set up will never have been set up before. It will be the same old font that Homer and Shakespeare used, but our use will be new.

"Modern poetry and art run to a sweetness and refinement which are really foreign to us; they are not ours. Everywhere as I went through the Rocky Mountains three weeks ago, especially at Platte Canon, I said to myself, 'Here are my poems, not finished temples, not graceful architecture, but great naturalness and rugged power—primitive nature.'

"My idea of one great feature of future American poetry is the expression of comradeship. That is a main point with me. Then breadth, modernness and consistency with science.

"Poetry, as yet given to us even by our own bards, is essentially feudal and antique. Our greatest man is Emerson. Bryant, I think, has a few pulsations. Whittier is a Puritan poet without unction—without juice. I hardly know what to say about Longfellow.

THE BEST PROMISE IN AMERICA

of those things is in a certain range of young men that are coming on the stage, that are yet voiceless. They are appearing in the Eastern cities and in the West. They have not yet begun to speak because the magazines and publishing houses are in the hands of the fossils.

"There is a great underlying strata of young men and women who cannot speak because the magazines are in the hands of old fogies like

Holland or fops like Howells. They are like water dammed up. They will burst forth some day. They are very American. Emerson is our first man. He is in every way what he should be. He is a rounded, finished man, complete in himself. Our living Bancroft and our dead Ticknor I think first-class men."

"What do you think of Bret Harte?"

"He is smart, facile and witty in the old sense. What a miserable business it is to take out of this great outgrowth of Western character, which is something more heroic than ever the old poets wrote about, to have taken out only a few ruffians and delirium tremens specimens, and made them the representatives of California personality. An artist would have taken the heroic personalities, but Bret Harte and the persons who followed him have taken these characters and made them stand for the whole. I think it is an outrage. He seems to me to have taken Dickens' treatment of the slums of London and transferred it to California.

"I think Tennyson the leading man in modern poetry. Nobody has expressed like Tennyson the blending of the most perfect verbal melody with

THE HEART-SICKNESS OF MODERN TIMES.

"He has caught that undertone of ennui in a way that will last while men read. I myself have been ambitious to do something entirely different from that, while I can appreciate him. The whole tendency of poetry has been toward refinement. I have felt that was not worthy of America. Something more vigorous, *al fresco,* was needed, and then more than all I determined from the beginning to put a whole living man in the expression of a poem, without wincing. I thought the time had come to do so, and I thought America was the place to do it. Curious as it may appear, it had never yet been done. An entire human being physically, emotionally and in his moral and spiritual nature. And also to express what seems to me had been left unexpressed, our own country and our own times. I have come now a couple of thousand miles, and the greatest thing to me in this Western country is the realization of my "Leaves of Grass." It tickles me hugely to find how thoroughly it and I have been in rapport. How my poems have defined them. I have really had their spirit in every page without knowing. I had made Western people talk to me, but I never knew how thoroughly a Western man I was till now."

"And how about religion?"

"I could only say that, as she develops, America will be a thoroughly religious nation. Toleration will grow, and the technique of religion, sectarianism, will more and more give out."

"Politically?"

"Politically, as far as I can see, we have established ourselves. The basis has been all right. We have nothing to do de novo. I think the theory and practice of American government, without its National and State governments, are stable. It seems to be established without danger, without end."

"And how about Canada?"

"I think Canada and Cuba and Mexico will gravitate to us. We could take the whole world in if it was fit for it, which it is not. There is no danger in enlargement. We can take in all the country from the isthmus to the North pole. Instead of endangering us it will only balance us, give us a greater area of base.

"Our American greatness and vitality are in the bulk of our people, not in a gentry like in the old world. The greatness of our army was in the rank and file, and so with the nation. Our leading men are not of much account and never have been, but the average of the people is immense, beyond all history.

"Lincoln seems to me to be our greatest specimen personality. Sometimes I think that in all departments, literature and art included, that will be the way our greatness will exhibit itself. We will not have great individuals or great leaders, but a great bulk, unprecedentedly great."[7]

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[7] St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* Oct. 17, 1879.

BENJAMIN ORANGE FLOWER, PATRON OF THE REALISTS

DAVID H. DICKASON
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THE *ARENA,* a critical review published from December, 1889 through August, 1909, has been almost completely disregarded by American literary historians; and its editor, Benjamin Orange Flower, has been mentioned disparagingly as an "egregious fellow ready and willing to swallow any proposed reform without the slightest preliminary examination,"[1] a "zealot and dreamer,"[2] a journalist "whose appetite for reform literature was insatiable."[3] But as a liberal literary critic and editor Flower has definitely been without honor in his own country.[4]

Shortly after the founding of the *Arena,* however, the British *Review of Reviews* informed its readers: "There is more audacity about the *Arena* than in its older rivals. It has an open mind on every subject, from the immortality of the soul to the scavenging of the streets, but it has a tolerably clear conviction that whatever else may be true, the conventional orthodoxy is false. . . . It is a thoroughly live magazine."[5] And a handbook of American literature appearing in Leipzig in the year the *Arena* ceased publication declared it to have been "a fearless exponent of advanced liberal thought."[6]

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[1] Russell Blankenship, *American Literature* (New York, 1931), p. 495.

[2] Oscar Cargill, *The Social Revolt* (New York, 1933), p. 4.

[3] V. L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1930), III, 299

[4] C. C. Regier is almost alone in recognizing the *Arena* as "the single high-class, dignified journal of protest" in America before 1900; but stresses particularly the interest o the editor in social reforms rather than in literature. See *The Era of the Muckraker* (Chapel Hill, 1932), pp. 49 and *passim.*

[5] W. T. Stead, *Annual Index of Review of Reviews* (London, 1891), p. 126.

[6] Theodore Stanton, *A Manual of American Literature* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 500. Analysis of the *Arena's* articles and editorial comment reveals that its platform of social improvements was highly commendable. Its "advanced liberal thought" of fifty years ago embraced advocacy of governmental relief of unemployment by a public works building program; the right of labor to organize and to strike; municipal slum-clearance and construction of low-cost housing units; federal or state control of the liquor traffic; reform o the prison system with an extension of industrial training; and governmental ownership o natural monopolies. In addition, the *Arena* antedated the muckrakers by ten years in it attacks on corruption in the trusts; and also championed such diverse movements as feminism, the eradication of child labor, and modernization of the nation's school system

The forty-one volumes of the *Arena* contain over four thousand pages of editorials and signed articles from Flower's pen, of which almost a fourth are concerned with literature—English, Continental, and American. During the two decades of the magazine's life he also wrote more than nine hundred reviews of current books. And from his contributors[7] the editor accepted studies of nearly forty figures in American literature, in addition to papers dealing with an equal number of European authors.[8] So far as quantity alone is concerned, then, the *Arena* deserves investigation. But of particular importance is the *Arena's* attack on the orthodox romanticism in the America of its time, in conjunction with its energetic defense of the younger realistic writers who were as yet almost unheard. Especially in the light of what it has to say about Garland, Norris, London, Crane, Upton Sinclair, and James A. Herne, the *Arena* definitely merits revaluation; for with its circulation of over one hundred thousand[9] it did much to shape the American public's reactions to the literary milieu, and to further the cause of realism in American letters.

One negative conclusion becomes immediately apparent. The *Arena* did not achieve the age and dignity of the more conservative reviews; nor does Flower emerge as a literary critic of the highest order. Both as essayist and as editor he was aroused by literature, basically of a realistic nature, which would directly or indirectly lead to bettering social conditions: "The supreme mission of art is to further justice, progress, and enlightenment among the children of men."[10] For him Victor Hugo laid the foundation for critical judgments: "Be of some service. Do not be fastidious when so much depends on being efficient and good. Art for art's sake may be very fine, but art for progress is finer still.[11] . . . The beautiful must be a

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Several decades ahead of his time, Flower also praised or predicted streamlining, use of structural glass, and numerous synthetic products.

[7] Among the better known were E. C. Stedman, Dion Boucicault, Moncure Conway, Edwin Markham, Hamlin Garland, Charles Klein, Wilbur L. Cross, James A. Herne, Archibald Henderson, F. J. Furnivall, Edward Everett Hale, Clarence Darrow, Thomas Dickinson, John Clark Ridpath, A. C. Wheeler, Eunice Tietjens, and Tolstoy.

[8] As a popularizer of recent and contemporary European literature the *Arena* was very active, printing studies of Ibsen, Drachmann, Franz Molnar, Schnitzler, Heijermanns, Edmond Rostand, Hugo, Balzac, Zola, Maupassant, Carducci, Maeterlinck, Marx, Nietzsche, Hauptmann, Turgenief, and Tolstoy. Among the English men of letters Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Carlyle, Ruskin, and William Morris were most frequently discussed.

[9] *Arena,* XXIX, 670 (June, 1903). Cargill's estimate of seventy thousand is therefore conservative (Cargill, *op. cit.,* p. 4).

[10] *Arena,* XIII, 517 (Aug., 1895).

[11] *Arena,* VII, 763 (May, 1893).

slave to the good. . . . Sacrifice to the mob, O poet! . . . Correct it, warn it, instruct it, guide it, train it."[12] Constitutionally predisposed toward any literary work inspiring amelioration of society's evils and injustices, Flower consistently applauded novelists with a purpose; and was prodigal in his praise of the "veritists" led by Hamlin Garland. So too in the products of Frank Norris, Jack London, Stephen Crane, Upton Sinclair, and the dramatist James A. Herne, Flower was primarily interested in the "message" and only secondarily in the literary form. Hence it is as a moralistic and somewhat grandiloquent critic that Flower spoke in the pages of his magazine. But so enthusiastic was his critical recognition and so beneficial his practical aid that these younger realists undeniably owed to Flower a large measure of their early success at a vital period in the history of American thought. And in fairness to Flower one must consider his flair for reformative fiction as modified by an additional dictum: "In viewing a work one should, it seems to me, sink as far as possible all prejudice or bias in regard to any school of literature, and criticise the work in question from the position of those who stand for the special school represented."[13]

In its survey of American letters the *Arena* commended the liberalism of Franklin and Tom Paine. It discussed the luminaries of the "Golden Day"—Poe, Emerson, Thoreau, Longfellow, Bryant, Alcott, and others (with the singular omissions of Hawthorne and Melville). Lowell, Whittier, Whitman, and Holmes, all of whom died in the early years of the *Arena's* career, were subjects of reviews; and among the group living into the new century Mark Twain, Henry James, Howells, and Edith Wharton were studied in detail, while scores of minor romancers were criticized and summarized. But it was not until Flower discovered the serious young men with a message that his true enthusiasms came to the fore. *A Traveller from Altruria, Looking Backward,* and *Progress and Poverty* had drawn hearty commendation from him; but with Garland and the "veritists" Flower found crystallized his own literary goal: "The truth must be pictured in all its actuality, the ugly as well as the beautiful."[14]

With Garland particularly Flower had close personal associations; and to the *Arena* must go the credit for starting Garland on his literary career. The editor recalls the circumstances of their first meeting:

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[12] *Arena,* I, 629 (April, 1890).

[13] *Arena,* XVI, 520 (Aug., 1896).

[14] *Arena,* XXX, 289 (Sept., 1903).

> I well remember receiving the first manuscript sent us by Mr. Garland. It was "A Prairie Heroine." The story came to hand with several sentences crossed out that voiced . . . sentiments . . . quite offensive to those who hold that the function of fiction is merely to amuse. I immediately accepted the story, but wrote Mr. Garland . . . that I should prefer the cashiered sentences replaced. In response to this note, Mr. Garland called at our office, and from this date began our friendship.[15]

Garland's account parallels this:

> A letter from Flower changed the world for me. "I have just finished reading your story, 'A Prairie Heroine' . . . In writing for the *Arena* . . . I wish you always to feel yourself thoroughly free to express any opinions you desire . . . I do not wish you to feel in writing for the *Arena* at any time the slightest restraint." This letter amazed me and heartened me.[16]

At Flower's request Garland put together two novelettes and some short sketches which the Arena Company published in 1891 as *Main-Travelled Roads,* in the opinion of the former "unequalled for strength, fidelity to truth, or lifelike delineation of Western farm life."[17] When in the next year the Arena Company issued *Jason Edwards,* Flower also reviewed it with gusto: "Mr. Garland's new novel is very strong . . . I know of no American writer who presents real life as vividly and powerfully as Mr. Garland. Even Mr. Howells, who possesses far more finish . . . lacks, it seems to me, something of the power in depicting life's everyday tragedies, which Mr. Garland possesses."[18] To collect material for his story, *A Spoil of Office,* an account of the agrarian uprisings of the early nineties, the *Arena* financed Garland's extensive travels in the South and West; and when the work appeared serially in the magazine Flower enthusiastically named it "the most faithful picture" that he had seen of conditions in the prairie country.[19] And so with the other earlier works of Garland: generous reviews, especially of *Prai-*

[15] *Arena,* XXVIII, 103 (July, 1902).

[16] Hamlin Garland, *Roadside Meetings* (New York, 1930), pp. 175-177.

[17] *Arena,* XXVIII, 103 (July, 1902). In view of these facts, Walter Fuller Taylor's statement is misleading when he says that *Main-Travelled Roads* contained sketches "too radical even for the *Arena*" (*A History of American Letters,* New York, 1936, p. 304).

[18] *Arena,* V, xxix (Feb., 1892). Book review supplement.

[19] *Arena,* VI, xli (Oct., 1892). Book review supplement.

rie Songs and of *Crumbling Idols,* a critical defense of "veritism"; praise, monetary aid, general sponsorship—Flower and the *Arena* launched Garland.[20]

Among the first recognitions of another of the younger realists, Frank Norris, was Flower's highly laudatory review of *The Octopus.* As a fictional attack on a grasping railroad trust it was "a remarkable social novel." But more than that:

> In *The Octopus* Mr. Norris has produced a novel of American life exhibiting the strength, power, vividness, fidelity to truth, photographic accuracy in description, and marvelous insight in depicting human nature, together with that broad philosophic grasp of the larger problems of life, that noble passion for justice, that characterizes the greatest work of Emile Zola.

Founded on the actual history of the Mussel Slough affair in the San Joaquin Valley, in which some embattled farmers were killed by agents of the Southern Pacific Railroad, the story is "strong, compelling and virile," a "novel that every reader of the *Arena* should possess."[21]

Its sequel, *The Pit,* did not receive quite such an ovation: "While *The Pit* is unquestionably more finished and at times evinces greater maturity in thought and expression, it lacks . . . much of the compelling force and tremendous dramatic power that marked *The Octopus.*" Nevertheless, *The Pit* is "a great novel, instinct with present-day American life." And the death of Norris at the early age of thirty-two deprived America of "a conscientious writer with high ideals . . . gifted in an eminent degree with a realist's brain and a poet's imagination."[22]

Jack London, too, is "one of the strongest and most . . . sincere of our present novelists" employing a "simple, clear and direct style at once pleasing and convincing."[23] *The Call of the Wild* and *The Sea Wolf* made him famous; but the latter, in its glorification of brutality, is in Flower's opinion open to criticism. Not so London's autobiographical account of his experiences as a vagrant, *The Road,* in which Flower sees "something grim and tragically suggestive": "It is a vivid pen picture of the morally disintegrating influence of tramp life. . . . Far from pleasing reading, it carries with it a tremendous lesson. . . . It is a book that will help on the social revolution that is making for a better and nobler civilization."[24] And in the visionary account of the breakdown of the "oligarchy of wealth" entitled *The Iron Heel* the *Arena's* editor discovers "one of his greatest works of fiction."[25] Another social study, *The People of the Abyss,* naturally held Flower's interest; and he likewise kept his readers informed of London's series of addresses on socialism and kindred subjects at Harvard, Faneuil Hall, New Haven, and elsewhere.

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[20] Without sufficiently recognizing the *Arena*'s practical assistance to Garland, Parrington dismisses the influence of Flower as unfortunate, since Garland thereby "ceased to be an objective realist and turned propagandist" (Parrington, *op. cit.*, p. 299).

[21] *Arena,* XXVII, 547-553 (May, 1902).

[22] *Arena,* XXIX, 440-442 (April, 1903). [23] *Arena,* XXXIX, 503 (April, 1908).

To the names of Garland, Norris, and London may be added that of Stephen Crane. Crane's *Maggie: A Story of New York* was received by the *Arena* with an outspoken approval significant in literary history because of the fact that the book, privately printed in 1893, was refused regular publication until after Crane's reputation had been established three years later by *The Red Badge of Courage.* Garland reviewed *Maggie:* "It is a work of astonishingly good style. . . . It is pictorial, graphic, terrible in its directness. . . . The diction is amazingly simple and fine for so young a writer. Some of the words illuminate like flashes of light." And of the subject matter, tabooed by the politer magazines:

> It deals with poverty and vice and crime. . . . But it does so, not out of curiosity, not out of salaciousness, but because of a distinct art impulse, the desire to utter in truthful phrase a certain rebellious cry. It is the voice of the slums . . . the most truthful and unhackneyed study of the slums that I have yet read. . . . It is important because it voices the blind rebellion of Rum Alley and Devil's Row.

In form the story is "only a fragment." But with such a technique already at command, Stephen Crane is to be "henceforth reckoned with," for he impresses the reader with a sense of "almost unlimited power."[26] Among the first to see Crane's promise, Flower also printed two of his earliest proletarian sketches, "An Ominous Baby" and "The Men in a Storm."[27]

Upton Sinclair, in the vanguard of the realistic novelists with a utilitarian aim, also received early acclaim from the *Arena.* When

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[24] *Arena,* XXXIX, 124 (Jan., 1908).

[25] *Arena,* XXXIX, 503 (April, 1908).

[26] *Arena,* VIII, xi (Nov., 1893). Book review supplement.

[27] *Arena,* IX, 819-821 (May, 1894), and X, 662-667 (Oct., 1894), respectively. Later collected in *The Open Boat* (London, 1898).

Manassas appeared in 1904 Flower called it "a masterly presentation" of the ante-bellum era and of the events behind the swift move toward civil war. "The volume is strenuous and crowded with historical facts presented in such a manner as to leave an indelible impress upon the mind. . . . In many respects it is one of the most notable novels of the year."[28] And ten years later Flower looked back on *Manassas* as "the most powerful peace novel" written in America, equaling in its realism the works of Zola.[29] Also in the school of Zola, Hugo, and Dickens, in Flower's interpretation, was *The Jungle,* which incalculably enriched the literature of exposure and protest. A strong and powerful voice lifted against "a great wrong" resulting from the capitalistic system, this book had, the *Arena* asserted, "perhaps the greatest direct effect on the reading public that has been achieved by any novel since the appearance of *Looking Backward.*"[30]

> *The Jungle* is worthy of a place by the side of Frank Norris' greatest work, *The Octopus.* These two works have more of historic truth than many histories, and they are marked by that high order of genius that compels man to see and feel all that man can. . . . They are, we think, the greatest realistic romances that America has given to the world.[31]

The last of the *Arena's* particular protégés was also concerned with social progress although he employed a different medium. James A. Herne, one of the founders of the American realistic drama,[32] was a close personal friend of Flower, to whom he stood in somewhat the same relation as did Hamlin Garland. Flower reports on the situation in 1891:

> A movement destined, I think, to be in a degree epoch-marking in the dramatic annals of the American stage was inaugurated by Mr. James A. Herne . . . in the production of the remarkable realistic drama, *Margaret Fleming.* . . . The play is a bold innovation . . . as strong as, and no less powerful than, any American drama yet written.[33]

When the Boston producers recoiled from this play because of the novel realism of its text, Flower felt so strongly it should be shown that he contributed enough money together with that solicited from Garland and other interested friends to have the play presented in Chickering Hall, Boston. "It was this production," said Flower, "that introduced Mr. Herne to the thoughtful public"; and William Dean Howells was among the first-night spectators who were impressed by the honesty of the performance.[34]

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[28] *Arena,* XXXII, 676-677 (Dec., 1904).

[29] B. O. Flower, *Progressive Men, Women, and Movements of the Past Twenty-five Years* (Boston, 1914), p. 157.

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 158.

[31] *Arena,* XXXV, 652 (June, 1906).

[32] Cf. Montrose J. Moses: "We are rightly inclined to regard Herne as our first exponent of reality in the sense of getting close to the soil" (*C.H.A.L.,* New York, 1938, III, 278).

[33] *Arena,* IV, 247 (July, 1891).

After beginning his career as an actor in third-rate melodramas Herne had moved to San Francisco where he wrote and produced the very popular *Hearts of Oak*, a novelty in its lack of the usual hero and villain. But in spite of its financial success Herne, influenced both by "the revolt against artificiality in literature as led by Tolstoi, Ibsen, Sudermann, and Mr. Howells," and by "the social gospel of Henry George," determined on the "creation of plays that should be at once serious, thoughtful, and true."[35] Herne's first efforts in this new direction included a story of Gloucester fisherman life, entitled *Drifting Apart,* in the opinion of the *Arena's* editor valuable as "the most powerful temperance sermon" in dramatic form. Another play was a "pioneer Revolutionary study," *The Minute Men.* Neither of these was successful in comparison with *Hearts of Oak*, but, says Herne, they were "unquestionably a step nearer being true." His criterion now was, like Flower's, "art for truth's sake." He declares:

> It is not sufficient that the subject be attractive . . . or that it does not offend. It must first of all express some large truth. . . . Truth is not always beautiful, but in art for truth's sake it is indispensable. . . . Art for truth's sake is serious. Its highest purpose has ever been to perpetuate the life of its time.[36]

His next drama, *Margaret Fleming,* as produced by Flower and Garland, fulfilled the qualifications, for in this "brave and original play" the audience "saw real life depicted." Its verisimilitude appealed to Flower: "*Margaret Fleming* is nothing if not artistic from the standpoint of the realist. Its fidelity to life as we find it—to existing conditions and types of society—is wonderful. Its dramatic strength is none the less marked."[37] But this play, too, in spite of the excellent acting by Mr. and Mrs. Herne and the assistance of the sponsors, came to an early end and as Herne remarked, "was reverently laid away." Not discouraged, he wrote another "radically unconventional drama" with the title *Shore Acres.* And with this work, judged by Garland to be "the best and truest of all Mr. Herne's plays of humble life," his fortune turned; for with its initial run of one hundred and thirteen performances *Shore Acres* scored "a victory of far-reaching significance for the drama." Flower thought Herne, as the author-actor of the play, "a great artist and a true man"; and was much impressed by Herne's final scene when, as Uncle Nat, he remained alone and silent upon the stage for ten minutes: "It was one of the most remarkable illustrations of the unconscious tribute paid by the people to the genius of the artist, and his fidelity to truth, that I have ever seen."[38]

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[34] *Arena,* XXVI, 289-290 (Sept., 1901).

[35] *Arena,* XXVI, 288 (Sept., 1901).

[36] *Arena,* XVII, 361-370 (Feb., 1897).

[37] *Arena,* IV, 247 (July, 1891).

Herne's wife Katherine, "a woman of superior ability both as an artist and as a thinker," according to Flower, not only aided him in writing the plays but also consistently acted the feminine leads in an effective manner. And when Herne died in 1901, not long after writing *Sag Harbor* and *Griffith Davenport,* he could be accurately described, thanks to their combined efforts, as an "eminent playwright . . . delightful actor, and consummate stage manager," who "rose to distinction and wrought effectively for a wholesome American drama."[39]

Thus Flower completes the roster of his favorites. Disproportionately enthusiastic about "art for progress," he is partially inappreciative of the values of imaginative literature for its own sake. Skeptical of the significance of all ivory towers, Flowers would remodel them as public service centers. His ardent support of and practical assistance to the proponents of the newer realism at the beginning of this century resulted, then, not from any profound apprehension of their method, per se, but rather from his conviction that their literary products would help to solve some of society's problems. The anomalous conclusion is therefore reached, that Flower wrought better than he knew. But whatever his critical shortcomings, whatever his reasons for reacting favorably to the "veritists" or realists, his resulting active patronage and public appreciation gave a vital impetus to their writings, and helped to establish realism in modern American letters.

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[38] *Arena,* VIII, 311 (Aug., 1893).

[39] *Arena,* XXVI, 287 (Sept., 1901).

NOTES AND QUERIES

SAMUEL SEWALL READS JOHN DRYDEN

KARL W. DYKEMA
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IN THE LIBRARY of the Massachusetts Historical Society is a leather-bound notebook of Samuel Sewall's which is listed in the card catalog of the library simply as "Common Place Book, 1677 to." There is no writing or printing on the outside of the volume, but on the first page, among other things, is this notation: "Samuel Sewall his Booke, Decemb 29, 1677." The volume contains 185 leaves, all numbered in ink; on both sides of leaf 170, but beginning on the back of the leaf because the volume was inverted for this entry, is a quotation from Dryden which begins and ends as follows:

The Indian Emperour, or ye conquest
of
Mexico 1681
John Dryden Esq
Acted on the stage, the [illegible] dedicated to ye Dutches of Monmouth
Oct. 12. 1667
Cortez. Monarch of Empires, & deserving more. . . .
[The first and last lines of what Sewall quotes would be numbered 246 and 307 of Act I, scene 2, in the Scott-Saintsbury edition of the *Dramatic Works* (Edinburgh, 1882, II, 336-338) if in that edition each line ending with a rhyming word is counted as a line.]. . . .
Yourselves prescribe it, how to punish you.
An extract of ye Dramatique Poem
Read it as went to Hog-Island Ap. 9. 1687
Accidentally met with ye Book at
Sam. Green's.

There is no mention of Dryden in the *Diary* or in the *Letter-Book* as published by the Massachusetts Historical Society.[1] Hog

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[1] *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (*Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vols. V, VI, VII, of the Fifth Series, Boston, 1878, 1879, 1882); *Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall* (*Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vols. I and II of the Sixth Series, Boston, 1886, 1888). I have compared only a few passages of the printed version with the manuscript, but I believe it is safe to say that except for one brief omission indicated by the editors, the printed version is a faithful transcript of the original.

Island is mentioned frequently in the *Diary;* it evidently belonged to Sewall, and his numerous trips there were to supervise the cultivation of it, for he mentions planting chestnuts there,[2] and bringing away a basket of cherries.[3] The island was presumably the same one that bears the name today; it is in Hingham Bay, approximately ten miles by water southeast of Boston.

There are two Samuel Greens mentioned in the *Diary;* both are identified by the editors as printers.[4] And a printer's shop seems as likely a place as any in Puritan New England in which to find a copy of Dryden. Apparently Sewall dropped into the printer's shop on the way to his boat, borrowed the book, and read it on his way to and from the island.

The passage Sewall quotes describes the first meeting between Cortez and Montezuma; in it there are references to Charles V of Spain and to the intention of the conquerors to convert the conquered to Catholicism. Sewall may have intended to use some of the material in his theological controversies; such a use is at least suggested by the last line he copied, "Yourselves prescribe it, how to punish you," which is spoken by Montezuma in answer to the threats of the Spaniards. And in Sewall's *Phaenomena* . . . (Boston, 1697) there are numerous references to Mexico.

This passage in Sewall's commonplace book is perhaps the first positive evidence of an acquaintance with a work of Dryden on the part of a New Englander. It is the more remarkable in view of the well-known antipathy of most Puritans to drama in general and to Restoration drama in particular.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "ARCTURUS" IN *MARDI*

GORDON MILLS
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IN MELVILLE'S *Mardi* there are several references to the star Arcturus. There is reason to believe that in connection with this novel the star stood for something definite in Melville's mind, and that he was consciously employing it as a symbol.

The name of the star appears both in the very beginning and in the very end of the novel. The opening scene of the book is laid in a whaling ship. This ship is called the *Arcturion.* And in the last few sentences of the book, when Taji is setting out into an "endless sea," still in pursuit of Yillah, there is this statement: "Of all the stars, only red Arcturus shone."

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[2] *Diary,* May 2, 1687, I, 176.

[3] *Ibid.,* July 1, 1687, I, 181.

[4] *Ibid.,* I, 324 n.

This location of the name, at beginning and end, seems to imply a special significance, suggesting that Arcturus represents a certain theme—as there is indeed further evidence that it does. Another reference to the star occurs in the scene in which Taji hears an account of how he has been pursued by three sons of the old priest Aleema (Melville also refers to him as "old Aaron") whom he slew to get possession of Yillah. He is told, "The murderer's [Taji's] proa outsailing theirs, soon ran out of sight; yet after him they blindly sailed by day and night: steering by the blood-red star in Boötes."[1] (Arcturus is a giant fixed star of the first magnitude in the constellation Boötes.) This links Taji and Arcturus. Arcturus is the sign under which Taji may be found.

Other references, less symbolic in themselves, suggest the particular significance attached by Melville to the star. In the chapter "Dominora and Vivenza" he says, "In good round truth, and as if an impartialist from Arcturus spoke it, Vivenza was a noble land."[2] Bardianna is quoted as saying, "Who in Arcturus hath heard of us?"[3]

Doubtless Melville was acquainted with the extensive mythology which has gathered about this star. None of the myths in which Arcturus figures, however, seems applicable to the situation in the book. But there is an association to be made with the name, and one with which we may be sure Melville was familiar, which does provide a clue as to what he intended. Melville, as is commonly known, was for a period of years intimate with the Duyckinck brothers. In the years 1840-1842 the Duyckincks published a magazine called *Arcturus.* It is safe to assume that Melville was familiar with the contents of the Duyckincks' magazine. He borrowed freely from Evert Duyckinck's private library in New York prior to his work on *Mardi,*[4] which appeared in 1849. In the "Prologue" to the first number of the magazine appears the following account of the name chosen for the publication:

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[1] *Mardi,* I, 354. All references to the novel are to *The Works of Herman Melville,* Standard Edition (London: Constable and Company, 1922).

[2] *Ibid.,* II, 175.

[3] *Ibid.,* II, 299. For other references to Arcturus, see *ibid.,* II, 129 and 300.

[4] Charles R. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas* (New York, 1939), p. 344.

In obedience, therefore, to ancient usage, and to secure a good understanding with our friends at the outset, we hasten to declare the aims of the proposed publication. It may be that in our title we have taken an unwarrantable liberty with one of the most respectable of the constellations. But others have led the way by similar profanations of the World, the Planet, and the Sun itself, which has had as many bantlings laid to its charge as if it were really "a wench in flame-colored taffeta." Neither by assuming this designation do we vouch for the literary character of the inhabitants of Arcturus as patrons of the present undertaking; it is sufficient that Arcturus is a star that shines high and brightly, *and looks down with a keen glance on the errors, follies, and mal-practices of men.* (Italics mine.)

The passage in italics may almost be taken for a statement of the author's purpose in *Mardi,* a purpose which he set forth under the symbol of Arcturus. Whether or not Melville was consciously harking back to the reference to Arcturus in the "Prologue" of the magazine, this is the general conception of the symbolism of Arcturus which may be supposed to have been present to his mind at the time of the composition of *Mardi.* And the italicized passage may be roughly paralleled by at least two passages from *Mardi.* One (I, 208) is: "Oh, stars! Oh eyes, that see me, whereso'er I roam: serene, intent, inscrutable for aye, tell me, Sybils, what I am." And also this (II, 302): "Fellow men! we must go and obtain a glimpse of what we are from the Belts of Jupiter and the Moons of Saturn, ere we see ourselves aright." There is also the passage already cited, in which Melville speaks of "an impartialist from Arcturus." And perhaps it is significant that it is on a "starless midnight"[5] that Taji yields to the invitations of Hautia.

Finally, as to the significance of this symbol in an interpretation of *Mardi:* First, it serves to dispel any doubt as to Melville's certainty of purpose in regard to the general construction of the novel, especially in connection with the so-called "break" between the opening portion and the main body of the work.[6] Perhaps Melville got in deeper than he first intended, as he himself suggests in the chapter "Sailing On." But unless one is convinced that the naming of the whaling ship *Arcturion* was either gross carelessness or only an afterthought, it must be granted that Melville stuck to his text. Secondly, it provides indirectly a definite statement as to what the

[5] *Mardi,* II, 383.

[6] See John Freeman, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1926), p. 98.

text of *Mardi* is, *viz.*, an impartial and detached criticism of the ways of mankind. Such a clue is scarcely needed in connection with *Mardi,* as a whole, but the implications in connection with Melville's religious and philosophical thought are obvious, and of some importance in understanding his later work.

It might be remarked in conclusion that Arcturus seems to be the negative symbol of the idea of which Yillah is the positive. Arcturus stands for independence, critical detachment. Yillah stands for the ultimate goal—a symbol associated with "happiness,"[7] "peace."[8]

SHORTCOMINGS OF "MUCKRAKING IN THE GILDED AGE"

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EDWARD CASSADY'S "Muckraking in the Gilded Age"[1] disappoints investigators of American economic fiction and must lower their prestige in the eyes of other scholars, who will think that our guild has done little since the mid-1930's. Judged merely as a bibliographical contribution, Mr. Cassady's article is weakened by some inaccuracies; moreover, it is for the most part unoriginal and is very thin. Second, its two main generalizations are equally inadequate.[2] For though true if worded more precisely, both receive meager support from Mr. Cassady's data; more important, the continuity and the virtues of muckraking writings had been evident to some students for nearly half a decade; most important, because unaware that he had been thus anticipated, Mr. Cassady failed to see the problems as they present themselves to scholars today.

The foregoing charges I now treat in detail.

1. Cassady lists Shearman as "Sherman," and gives 1882 as the

[7] *Mardi,* II, 265-266.

[8] *Ibid.,* II, 358.

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[1] *American Literature,* XIII, 134-141 (May, 1941). To be fair to Cassady, I assume that his manuscript left his hands before January 1, 1941.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 135: ". . . the spirit of social protest was very much alive during those bewildering days of capitalistic expansion following Appomattox and . . . there were many writers who were anything but silent and complacent about contemporary economic and political abuses. . . . Their writings provide an unbroken critical tradition from the administration of Lincoln to that of Theodore Roosevelt."

Ibid., p. 140: ". . . the writers of the Gilded Age who made a study of political corruption had a rather sound understanding of the relationship between business and politics."

date of *Democracy* (1880). Minor in themselves, these mistakes betoken a second shortcoming:

2. The article is bibliographically slight, in three respects.

a) Cassady was ill acquainted with several of his own authors and titles. "Sherman" should have been listed as a prominent single-taxer. *Democracy* gained its contemporary American prestige largely because of its popularity in England—a fact seemingly unknown to Cassady. Similar ignorance impairs his treatment of C. J. Bellamy, Sherwood, Foran, Warner, and Lloyd. To specify: Having found *The Breton Mills,* Cassady should have discovered and announced Bellamy's equally important *The Way Out.* Having named *Henry Worthington, Idealist,* he should have mentioned Sherwood's earlier and even more significant *An Experiment in Altruism.* Knowledge that Foran was a fairly influential labor leader and a congressman would have enabled Cassady to analyze, not merely list, *The Other Side.* Fourth, Cassady as well as Parrington overlooked a valuable clue to the trend of public opinion when he failed to observe that *The Golden House* (1894) is closer to muckraking than is the 1889 or the 1899 member of the trilogy. Last, Lloyd should have been represented not simply by two productions long known but by his Columbia College commencement oration (1867); his *Strike of Millionaires against Miners* (1890); his "constructive" books and articles of 1898 and 1899; and especially two magazine articles of 1882 and 1883.[3]

b) Cassady's article added to the bibliography only four novels—*The Breton Mills, A Paper City, Robert Greathouse,* and *Farnell's Folly*—and no short stories, no magazine articles, no nonfiction books.[4] Only sixteen per cent of the data he did include, then, made a real contribution to knowledge.

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[3] These articles go far to explain the reasons for a phenomenon whose extent and meaning have been but little realized—the momentum gained during the first half of Arthur's term by the first major "middle-class" economic protest-movement.

[4] Cassady urged (p. 135) that his article had to be short. But he could have saved much space by merely referring readers to the derived sources which treat his twenty-one old titles. And for data on new titles with which he was acquainted but which he omitted from his article he might have sent readers to his own Ph.D. dissertation.

Of magazine articles Cassady does say: "One has only to thumb through the bound volumes of such periodicals as the *Atlantic, North American Review, Nation,* and *Harper's* to discover how active our writers were in exposing the evils of their day" (p. 135). This remark is a poor substitute, however, for statistics or even for a citation of Mott's *A History of American Magazines,* Vol. III, 1865-1885 (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), esp. pp. 288-304 and 148-150.

c) Moreover, this is sheer poverty in view of the following facts.[5] From 1865 to 1899 there were published more than one hundred and sixty novels, at least one hundred and sixty nonfiction books, and score upon score of pamphlets which dealt wholly or to a considerable extent in economic and political-economic muckraking. Dozens of other documents—even dime novels and juveniles—contained muckraking passages. How numerous were muckraking short stories remains unknown, but it is not hard to gather titles. Finally, muckraking articles were far more abundant than Cassady's vague reference indicates: I have read more than two hundred and fifty; Mott names fifteen others (and many crusading magazines) from the decades before they flourished; my study of Poole's Indexes has yielded fifteen hundred additional possible titles, of which (if my experience is any guide) about five hundred should prove to be muckraking; and both the Indexes themselves and my use of them are incomplete.[6]

3. Cassady's evidence, new and old, is thin not alone mathematically but logically. It is insufficient to bear his generalizations. Twenty-five documents spread over a prolific quarter-century are too few to sustain his broad first thesis, and perhaps even his second.

4. Nevertheless, his generalizations are basically true. Not only can they be proved; they had received considerable substantiation before he wrote. His predecessors had already gathered somewhat over half the available (non-newspaper) proof: Cassady could have got nearly all his own titles and nine times as many more from two dozen major histories, dissertations, and anthologies, supplemented by some less important derived sources. These predecessors, moreover, had already made his first thesis appear to be a highly tenable proposition. And one predecessor, C. R. Flory, had pre-stated, with more proof than Cassady gave, his second main generalization.[7]

5. Limiting himself, then, to four literary histories, the latest

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[5] Naturally, in justice to Cassady, my computations exclude Utopian romances, purely sociological studies and stories (e.g., most documents dealing with the slum and liquor problems), and political fiction on the Indian, Negro, and Reconstruction controversies.

[6] Newspaper muckraking, important as it was, I omit here. Louis Filler and other students have realized its significance.

[7] C. R. Flory, *Economic Criticism in American Fiction, 1792 to 1900* (Philadelphia, 1936; University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. dissertation), pp. 85-86. Moreover, from *An Iron Crown* Flory had quoted what Cassady used as the longest of his primary-source quotations in "Muckraking in the Gilded Age." Flory's ascription of the passage to pages 128-129 of *An Iron Crown* is on page 78 of *Economic Criticism in American Fiction . . . ;* Cassady ascribes the passage to page 78 of *An Iron Crown.*

published in 1935, Cassady regarded as discoveries what specialists have for half a decade recognized to be fundamental data that challenged them to conduct investigations both more extensive and more intensive than any yet reported. Obviously, such investigations must analyze the many publics which writers aimed at; try to measure "time-lags"; delve (as *Democracy* indicates is needful) into problems of sales, reception, reissue, prestige, and both national and international influence; define "muckraking," "muckraking age," and other basic or even merely convenient concepts; determine the endpoint of the age; and divide it into periods. In doing all these jobs, the investigator must naturally use hundreds of derived sources, the bibliographical indexes, and the primary sources themselves.

These remarks are all commonplaces. But they are commonplaces neglected by Mr. Cassady. Hence his article was ignorant, thin, and either sadly late or sadly premature. This is regrettable. Most American literary historians investigating economic documents have been too sketchy in their knowledge of economic history and in their utilization of derived sources written by other than literary researchers.[8] Misrepresentation of what we do know and what we have learned will do our profession no good in the eyes of scholars trained in other—let us not have to say more rigorous—disciplines.

[8] It is to be expected that these faults are remedied in Walter F. Taylor's *The Economic Novel in America* (Chapel Hill, 1942).

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

Emerson's Rhetorical Theories. Ellen C. (Mrs. Lloyd) Davidson (Chicago).

The Early Life of William Dean Howells. Frederic Carver Marston, Jr. (Brown).

James H. Thornwell, Theologian of the Ante-Bellum South. Haven Perkins (Chicago, Divinity School).

Walt Whitman's Reading. Hargis Westerfield (Indiana).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

Chicago as an Art Center. Eugenia R. Whitridge (Chicago, Sociology).

Civil War Fiction from 1890 to the Present Day. Ralph C. Most (Pennsylvania).

The Evolution of the Spirituals in the Slave Songs of the United States. Miles M. Fisher (Chicago, Divinity School).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

Alexander H. Stephens, Orator. Nemias Bramlette Beck (Wisconsin, Speech, 1938).

The American Primer. Mrs. Catherine L. Plover (Fordham, Education, 1936).

Anthony Benezet and His Antislavery Activities. Leonard C. Lashley (Fordham, History, 1939).

Bourke Cockran, Orator. Mother M. Margaret Crowley (Wisconsin, Speech, 1941).

Colonel William Fleming on the Virginia Frontier, 1755-1783. William Dana Hoyt, Jr. (Johns Hopkins, History, 1940).

The Congregationalists and Presbyterians on the Wisconsin Frontier. Charles J. Kennedy (Wisconsin, History, 1940). Reported in progress, March, 1941, under the title "Social Conditions on the Wisconsin Frontier."

A Critical Study of the Speaking and Speeches of Henry Clay. Ernest J. Wrage (Northwestern, Speech, 1941).

A Critique of the Ethical Theory of John Dewey. Sidney Zink (Cincinnati, Philosophy, 1941).

The Development of American Secular Juvenile Magazines. Goldie Platner Merrill (University of Washington, Education, 1939).

Henry Thoreau as a Poet, with a Critical Edition of His Poems. Carl Bode (Northwestern, 1941).

A History of Classical Scholarship in America. Elizabeth Amanda Atwater (Pittsburgh, Classics, 1938).

A History of the Denver Theater during the Post-Pioneer Period (1881-1901). William Campton Bell (Northwestern, Speech, 1941).

Life and Works of George W. Harris. Donald Day (Chicago, 1942).

Patrick Henry, Orator of the American Revolution. Louis Arthur Mallory (Wisconsin, Speech, 1939).

Philosophical Implications of American Humanism. G. Kasten Tallmadge (Wisconsin, Philosophy, 1937).

Political Leadership of Henry Watterson. Leonard Niel Plummer (Wisconsin, Political Science, 1940).

The Question of Belief as Evidenced by Certain Representative Contemporary Poets, 1900-1935 (Including Wheelock, Millay, Jeffers, Robinson, Markham, Lindsay, *et al.*). Sr. Mary James Power (Fordham, 1936).

The Social Opinions of Simeon E. Baldwin. Forrest Cleburne Weir (Yale, History, 1941).

Some Near Economists of Eighteenth-Century America. Virgle Glenn Wilhite (Wisconsin, Economics, 1940).

Theatrical Activities: Madison, Wisconsin, 1836-1907. Henry Clayman Youngerman (Wisconsin, Speech, 1940).

William Gilmore Simms: Novelist, Romanticist, and Short Prose Fictionist. Floyd Harrison Deen (Indiana, 1940).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:

The Georgia Sketch Writers. Lloyd W. Chapin. (North Carolina).

Literary and Educational Influences in the Life of Edgar Lee Masters, 1869-1900. Kimball Flaccus (New York University, School of Education).

V. OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS:

David Lee Clark, The University of Texas, is preparing a biography of Charles Brockden Brown.

Thomas Ollive Mabbott, Hunter College, is preparing a complete, annotated edition of the works of Edgar Allan Poe.

RAYMOND ADAMS, *Assistant Bibliographer.*

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDGAR ALLAN POE: *A Critical Biography*. By Arthur Hobson Quinn. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1941. xvi, 804 pp. $5.00.

The glory of the poet or the romancer may be overcast by the lengthened shadow of the man. Readers of Poe's writings have been taught to see the man himself in all that he has written and the man they see has been a creature fashioned out of hearsay and cheap journalism and fabricated likenesses by painters and penmen. There has been need of a biography of Poe that worked from the authentic evidence only, written in a spirit, neither of blame nor defense; sympathetic of course, but willing to present the man as he was. In his *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography,* Arthur Hobson Quinn has written the best of the lives of Poe. He has attempted to work from original sources and to give all the pertinent facts. He has been as wisely ruthless as a surgeon in cutting out the mass of sickly legend based upon the vanities of sentimental ladies and the biased and faded memories of old men gossips. Even in this elimination of untrustworthy reminiscences Professor Quinn shows wisely a conservatism. For example, forty-five years after the contest, J. H. B. Latrobe listed "A Descent into the Maelstrom" among the "Tales of the Folio Club" submitted to the *Saturday Visiter*. There are convincing grounds for believing that the story was written much later and Mr. Quinn in two places appears to accept them, but in listing the stories submitted to the *Visiter* committee he adds "and, possibly, 'A Descent into the Maelstrom.'" This attitude of conservatism is one of the strong points of the book, for it makes it safe to assume that nothing is advanced for the mere sake of novelty or effect and that no conventional belief about Poe is abandoned without full investigation. Clearly the aim of this biography is to present the full unvarnished truth. No unfavorable evidence is either suppressed or modified. With a commendable sense of fairness to his subject, however, the author has attempted whenever possible to interpret the facts in the light most favorable to Poe.

Mr. Quinn's book contains a large amount of new material. He has presented the stage careers of Poe's mother and father with a fullness never before approached. He prints for the first time in a biography Edgar's letter in 1835 to Mrs. Clemm urging his claim to marry Virginia. For the first time in a biography, he gives a letter from David Poe that paints a self-portrait that all too suggestively reminds us of the most unfriendly descriptions of David Poe's son Edgar in his most unhappy moments. Several other new letters are included for the first time in a biography, but more important are the restorations to their true form of letters that have been printed before but with misleading alterations. These corrections not only make the letters new material but they furnish evidence by which to test other facts. The great changes which J. H. Ingram made in the letters, which are accessible in true copies, of Poe to Mrs. Charles Richmond, "Annie," will give caution to the consideration of letters printed by him for which no originals remain. Ingram, however, altered his material from the kindest of motives. Not so Rufus Griswold. Killis Campbell proved how shamelessly that gentleman changed, added to, or completely manufactured letters which he printed as from Poe to himself with the evident intention of showing himself to advantage and Poe as he wished to represent him. Mr. Quinn has continued Campbell's work, adding astonishing new evidence of Griswold's falsehood. In particular, a letter from W. E. Burton to Poe is shown to have been changed by Griswold both in date and content in order to produce a wholly false piece of evidence relating to Poe's habits, character, and relations in general with Burton. A letter written actually *before* Burton ever employed Poe was made by Griswold to be a record of unfaithful service as Burton's editor.

In reviewing a book of such careful scholarship it is necessary to point out some of the minor errors, most of which should have been caught in the proofreading. On page 197 "the *Messenger* contest" is mentioned when the *Visiter* contest is intended. On pages 257 and 259 there are references to a letter of December 27, 1836, from T. W. White to Minor with a proper footnote reference to the *Century Magazine* of March, 1924. In each case the letter referred to is written to Beverley Tucker and not Minor. Other misprints such as "J. W. White" on page 203 for T. W. White are less likely to lead to confusion. There are several minor misprints of footnote references, especially to pagination of articles.

Mr. Quinn prints for the first time an important letter from Poe to Mrs. L. H. Sigourney and cites it as proof that all the reviews in the *Southern Literary Messenger* after December, 1835, are by Poe. The date of the letter is April 12, 1836, and Poe says that for the last six months the editorial duties had been undertaken by himself. "Of course, therefore, I plead guilty to all the criticisms of the Journal during the period mentioned." Poe also assumed, as editor, responsibility for all the reviews, in his letter to the *Compiler,* September 2, 1836. But Poe could not have meant that he *wrote* all the reviews, for he did not. For the six issues from August, 1835, through March, 1836 (there were no October and November issues), Poe wrote nearly all reviews. At least two certainly and a third one almost certainly are not his. The assumption that Poe wrote all the reviews in the *Messenger* leads Mr. Quinn to quote as Poe's the ideas on slavery expressed in a review in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for April, 1836. That this review was by Beverley Tucker is made clear by Poe's reference to it in a letter from Poe to Tucker on May 2, 1836.

Two methods deliberately chosen by the author have been used to the disadvantage of his readers. In a praiseworthy effort at firsthand authenticity, Mr. Quinn gives his footnote references to original sources. In the vast majority of cases the letters or articles to which reference is made are readily available in printed form, and it would be for the reader's advantage to have these references also given. The other fault of method is the printing in full of so many of Poe's letters that are already familiar to scholars and accessible to the general reader. The biography is much longer and less sustained in interest as a consequence.

On the critical side I find myself often at variance with Mr. Quinn. I am puzzled by the judgment that can consider on internal evidence "The Atlantis" in the *American Museum,* 1838-39, to be by Poe and especially to regard its style as "distinctly in the same tone" as the opening of "Lionizing." I cannot see that "The Devil in the Belfry" is "satire in the Irving manner." I wonder at the expression of regret that Poe had no Sophia Hawthorne nor Olivia Clemens to advise him in his literary work. I find it difficult to accept the judgment that the *Conchology* "was not entirely a piece of hack work for Poe"—unless it was less than one. Mr. Quinn is especially generous to mediocrities, as when he says of H. B. Hirst that his "lyrics were not at all bad." On the more important critical interpretation of the creative writings of Poe, which is a major purpose of the book, Mr. Quinn is very uneven. Judgments will undoubtedly be influenced by the reader's own taste and ideas already formed about Poe's tales and poems. But the probable verdict of time will be that the book does not represent an important addition to Poe criticism.

Poe is a major figure in American literature and an important one in the general literature of the nineteenth century. But there are tastes and critical canons that will at any time deny his significance. The present period is one in which the voices of many of the esoteric critics have been against the claims of his art to enduring value. It is especially important now, then, that his life should be fully and accurately told as Mr. Quinn has told it. It can still be said that it is the shame of American scholarship that there is no complete and accurate text of all of Poe's writings. It can no longer be said that the facts of Poe's life cannot be studied with confidence in a biography. Mr. Quinn has added much new material to the published knowledge of Poe. But his greatest achievement is that he has eliminated the false and the unauthentic and established the true by minute investigation. For this reason his book must be considered among the most important among the major biographies of American literary figures.

University of Virginia. JAMES SOUTHALL WILSON.

LITERARY SCHOLARSHIP: *Its Aims and Methods.* By Norman Foerster, John C. McGalliard, René Wellek, Austin Warren, Wilbur L. Schramm. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1941. x, 269 pp. $3.00.

This volume consists of an introductory essay, "The Study of Letters" by Mr. Foerster, defining the scope of the book and recommending four specialized "disciplines" that are set forth in succeeding essays—on "Language" by Mr. McGalliard, "Literary History" by Mr. Wellek, "Literary Criticism" by Mr. Warren, and "Imaginative Writing" by Mr. Schramm. From certain points of view the topics of Messrs. Foerster and Warren might seem to subsume the others, but there is no real overlapping and little conflict in the views of the various authors. The general aim of the volume is, naturally, to encourage the "humanist" approach to literature, with which readers of Mr. Foerster's earlier volumes must by now be familiar.

Special doctrine apart, few or none should upon reflection disagree with the general object of the volume, which is the improvement of our abilities as students, teachers, and even producers of literature. Doubtless most men instinctively resent uninvited attempts to improve them; but one hopes professors may be amenable to any such sincere effort. The effect in this case might be more immediate, however, if the attempt were more strategically announced. The story was somewhat worn before these authors began writing.

Mr. Foerster is troubled by two things—at least two. The first is the derisive warfare that is current between "journalistic" critics and academic "pedants."* The second is the dissatisfaction notable "especially since about 1930" with the "main drift of our literary scholarship." If Mr. Foerster were less the man with a special case to plead and more the humane historian, he would realize that this derisive warfare goes back perhaps to the days of the Troglodytes. It is at least a central fact of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and has less to do with Teutonic influence than is thought. Swift's "Digression on Critics" and Pope's "Essay on Criticism" show the battle in full blast. On the one hand

> The bookful blockhead, ignorantly read,
> With loads of learned lumber in his head

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* Though quoted, terms here are mine. Since this volume treats very large issues, and since I am incompetent to deal abstractly with many of them, I shall violate the idiom of reviewing and fall back upon the first personal pronoun as expressing an individual point of view and that only.

and on the other those who

> neither can for Wits nor Critics pass,
> As heavy mules are neither horse nor ass—
> Those half-learn'd witlings, num'rous in our isle. . . .

Pope (like Mr. Foerster?) had ideals for both sides in the battle. It is a never-ending combat; and all the *savant* or the *bel esprit* can hope for is to give a fittingly vigorous account of himself in the fight. It would be catastrophic if either point of view ever suppressed the other.

It is not quite right to picture an irate world forcing graduate schools "since about 1930"[1] to mend their ways. My own Ph.D. was conferred in 1915, and by that time—I like to believe that *before* that time—the doctoral degree in English was the object of considerable dissatisfaction on the part of both graduate faculties and students. Certainly since 1918 the major graduate schools of the country have been remaking their requirements for higher degrees. A period of transition is likely to be one of confusion and doubt. Restless witlings may have made capital derisively of this confusion; but few graduate schools are complacent as to their achievements—except when talking to a rival school. It is to be wished that complacence may never overtake them—that may be left to their critics.

In restating to themselves their objectives I suspect most graduate schools have been actuated by ideals somewhat like those Mr. Foerster preaches. He might seem perhaps to be yearning for the *salon* rather than for the more technical *académie*. Experience in a graduate faculty tends to make some of us think that only limited objectives can be gained in any school—especially if the school is large[2] and well regimented by administrative officers and committees. Both professors and students are likely in a large school to be drawn from their proper central effort, and second-best results inevitably follow. Mr. Foerster desires for students an accession of esthetic sensitiveness and of a fine and sure sense of values. "Here," he confesses, "his [the student's] most valuable instrument is natural sense, if he is blessed with it, for no amount of factual knowledge will avail in its stead" (p. 24). This seems to come close to the heart of the difficulty: in a school one may perhaps pile up factual knowledge; if these other far more important desiderata depend on "natural sense," one must not expect too much of the *académie;* one must turn to the *salons,* where at least one can acquire the popular jargon of the hour, which sometimes provides a camouflage to disguise a lack either of sensitiveness or even of sense. Mr. Foerster is asking more of the schools than they have ever been able to perform.[8] If, however, his more elusive demands can hardly be more than by-products, they are none the less precious once secured. Possibly if professors would give up their golf, bridge, or even detective stories, and students their movies; if there were no committees and no term papers, something might be done to humanize the graduate school and to create in it an imitation *salon,* which might promote the "common intellectual life among students of letters"—a life we should all like to see realized on this earth. But one must not blame merely the specialization of professors of this day: literary men have very seldom had the "clubbability," the humane congeniality, that sentimental idealizers of remote periods predicate of them. The *genus irritabile vatum* is seldom regarded realistically by literary historians and never by "humanists."

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[1] It is worth noting as a healthy divergence from this chosen date that in Mr. Wellek's essay at least three paragraphs (pp. 97, 103, 107) begin with assertions of various improvements "in recent decades."

[2] Any school that has ten graduate students to one graduate instructor is too large.

Difficult objectives are not to be avoided merely because of their difficulty, but satisfying success with transcendental objectives is hardly to be expected. In training up better teachers and imparting a more rigorous discipline in language, literary history, and/or the theory of criticism we must expect more success in spite of the past record. There remains more to do here than the authors of this book indicate. Mr. Foerster (p. 27) thinks a year adequate for acquiring any specialized discipline in our trade, a period which does not seem to imply a very rigorous training. His staff, in their essays, tend to *describe* the techniques involved but hardly give incisive indications as to their applicability or as to the best means of acquiring them. So Mr. McGalliard gives a very good account of the recent achievements in linguistics, but does not bring home the important usefulness of his field to the student of literature with any force sufficient to counteract the indifference of graduate students or to nullify the patent hostility of Mr. Foerster himself. Mr. Wellek follows with a brilliant essay—easily the best in the volume—on the methods and dangers of literary history. This is a survey indispensable to the practitioner of history; but for the student choosing a discipline to follow it is hardly inviting. The difficulties of historical writing are so completely stated that one wants to exclaim in imitation of the depressed Rasselas: "Enough! Thou hast convinced me that no human being can ever be a literary historian." An excessive preoccupation with methodology, it may be remarked, has more than once in our day led to total paralysis so far as historical productivity is concerned. Even if it follows a somewhat inferior method a book written may be useful, while a book unwritten is of no use. Mr. Warren's section on criticism is admirably descriptive of all the methods he can recollect from all the critics he knows, and he is well versed in many. If his presentation is descriptive rather than alluring; if it seems detached and aloof, one must consider the assignment—to discuss "literary criticism" *in toto* and *in vacuo* in forty pages! Mr. Schramm on "imaginative writing" is persuasive except when he reflects the ill-informed prejudices of our day. It is not true, for example, as Carl Van Doren is quoted as saying (p. 237), that our universities "no longer put such a shoulder to the ideal of creative literature as they put there half a century or so ago." There is hardly a reputable American author—of really first-class achievement and of good moral character—who has not been offered a connection with some university. Most universities coddle at least one creative ewe lamb, and they would like to coddle more—only asking that the creatures be house-broken and observe academic decorum to a moderate degree. Harvard, for example, is a nest of singing birds with at least a half-dozen poets and three successful novelists on its English staff. Mr. Schramm underestimates the amount of practical interest professors and students in graduate schools show in imaginative writing—or at least the amount they *have* shown earlier in their careers. The question is, how long should we nurse our hopes of being creatively imaginative? Mr. Schramm overestimates the good influence of imaginative writing on the neat, direct, luminous, and elegantly precise style that the professor ought to be master of. Doubtless it is a major scandal that professors of literature almost without exception write drab or even awkward English. If the cultivation of the imagination will remedy this evil, we ought all to fall to writing novels, plays, or poems; but probably what we need to cultivate is a more disciplined expository style, rather than a narrative or lyric gift.

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[8] It is no good idealizing the meager Harvard of a hundred years ago—a place ill supplied with books and less supplied with "creative" writers than it has been for the past decade. Perhaps Mr. Foerster is right in regarding Lowell as a great critic—perhaps.

One bit of self-deception in this derisive warfare comes from the habit of thinking in undefined plus or minus terms. To Mr. Foerster *science, factual, specialized, research,* all are simply minus signs: he never gets behind these into the actualities they represent. To most students of literature "scientific method" is equated unthinkingly with "good method"; science to them implies observation, precision, accuracy, logic—hardly more. This attitude is no worse surely than one of wholesale condemnation of "science." *Specialized,* again, is a favorite stick to beat backs with; and yet in their more tolerant moments Messrs. Foerster and Schramm recognize that in his own way and on his own higher level the poet is as "specialized" as the pedant. If, then, Mr. Schramm must quote such quips as that "a poet in history is divine, but a poet in the next room is a joke," one may remind him that poetry, not the poet, is divine. Only sentimental idealizers regard the artist with this awestruck adulation. As a matter of common sense we all know that often both poets and pedants are likely to be dull company—that's why, if we are wise, they are in the next rather than in the same room with us. The modern and romantic idealization of "man thinking" or of "the poet" confuses the issue. It is the best that is thought and imagined in the world that we must concentrate on—not the thinkers or artists as personalities. The rhetorician, to be sure, may teach by studying art genetically, but for the critic genetics, like history, is a secondary matter. We revere, then, art, not artists—as of course critics unsympathetic with biographical study need not be reminded.

So long as our derisive warfare remains a battle of undefined words, there will be small grounds upon which to negotiate a truce. If, however, we drop the fighting words, so dear to Mr. Foerster, can we not find grounds for a truce? I suggest the following:

We all believe in understanding and enjoying literature. We all believe that at the collegiate level full enjoyment depends on thorough understanding. Nine tenths of the student's (or the critic's) task is defining for himself and perhaps for others (to save their time) the true nature of the literary work before him. If it is a new poem, one reads without preconception, becomes interested, and desires a fuller understanding of all the implications of the work. If it is *The Faerie Queene,* one comes to it with preconceptions normally, reads at first perhaps only dutifully, but dutifully continues until interest breeds a desire to *study,* to comprehend. A true work of art, we all agree, is very complex: *it rewards study.* One wishes for all aids necessary to this study—a good text,[4] annotations—all the helps possible. I cannot share the horror of Mr. Foerster and many another colleague at our present-day accumulations of *Materialien. Notes & Queries, Modern Language Notes,* and most other "learned" journals exist not to be read but to be indexed. The more miscellaneous information we have indexed, the better—provided one has the intelligence not to get factual indigestion from trying to read it all. It has long been recognized that "index-learning turns no student pale"; nowadays such learning should be regarded as no occasion for apoplectic purple. It is hardly probable that many have ever thought information the same thing as criticism; it is, however, a useful preliminary to criticism.

Under the most favorable conditions, the process of "final" evaluation should wait on the fullest possible comprehension of the complex nature of the work of art. We must first examine it from several imaginative points of view: we must "define" it for ourselves. This process involves placing it in its genus—its tradition—and then differentiating its proper nature and art from that genus. Obviously this process involves history. The first stage, the full "reading" of the poem, has doubtless been neglected by us; but though of prime importance it alone is usually insufficient. We need all the useful devices, all the resources we can command. Enjoyment may arise at any stage of this increasingly thorough study; it is desirable and natural that it should attend all stages; but on the higher levels of study an unintelligent enjoyment is no more to be tolerated than an unenjoying pedantry. The former evokes no sound esthetic communication or response; the latter *conceivably* might do so in a sensitive bystander; but if it does, it should claim little merit for the accident. Biography, psychology, history, *milieu,* philosophy, linguistics, technical knowledge of literary forms—all may be excellent aids to the understanding of a masterpiece. If the student has "natural sense" and if he completely comprehends the masterpiece, his "feeling" for it and his evaluation of it will emerge gradually and perhaps only implicitly—that is the way masterpieces work. We worry somewhat too much about these matters of explicit feeling and value: if the masterpiece is truly such and is truly comprehended, they will take care of themselves. The reader must, to be sure, have within himself some part at least of the sense of values that should be common to all men of sound reason. It is even desirable that he have a conscious metaphysical basis as foundation for his value judgments. At bottom our difficulty has been that we read too casually and superficially: we must revert to the belief which we surely all share that *art rewards study.* We may disregard the derision of all who read only on the run. These are surely positions on which all students and critics of literature should agree. Let us all rally to them.

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[4] It is fantastic of Mr. Wellek to imagine (p. 93) that we have already critically edited texts of most English writers. Quite the opposite is true.

A college president of some note once told me that as an undergraduate he had two English courses under a very popular and widely known professor. "They were all right as courses," the president said, "but he really made us sit up and drop our feet only twice during the two years. That was when on two occasions he said to us, 'Gentlemen, I will now tell you how to tell a good poem from a bad one.'" After a pause the president sadly concluded, "Of course he didn't really tell us!" Equally, of course, this is what people of facile minds wish *to be told,* and what hireling critics think they can tell. The virtuous critic, however, will not give birth to evaluation until he has been lawfully wedded to the masterpiece for at least nine months. By this token, the sales talk of book reviewers or the radio spellbinders—useful as it may sometimes be—has only accidental connection with real criticism. What may seem to us "invitations to learning," to others seem merely flirtations with masterpieces—or even burial services over them. Real criticism involves as complete a comprehension as possible: it may consequently involve research—and with that noisome *word* our possible truce is ended, and the derisive fat is again in the fire! But research begins when we look up a word in the dictionary, and ends perhaps when we find laboriously and tediously that the dictionary was wrong. If we devote our time to the complete comprehension of literature, we shall have little time for derision.

Harvard University. GEORGE SHERBURN.

NATURAL HISTORY AND THE AMERICAN MIND. By William Martin Smallwood, in Collaboration with Mabel Sarah Coon Smallwood. Columbia Studies in American Culture, No. 8. New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. xviii, 445 pp. $4.25.

W. M. Smallwood is an eminent biologist and teacher who decided in 1936 to "investigate early natural history in the United States." He and his wife subsequently examined the rare books and manuscripts in many libraries in this country and in Great Britain, uncovering a treasure trove of fresh material. There can be no doubt of their enthusiasm, their ingenuity, and their expert knowledge, yet their book is evidence that in the writing of intellectual history these things are not enough. What might have been an expert's interpretation of the role of natural history in American thought before 1850 turns out to be uncertain in purpose and uneven in value. Useful, often original, and full enough so that no one hereafter will be able to deal with the history of American science before 1850 without examining it minutely, it is nevertheless far from being a skilfully organized, well-written book.

Five chapters on scientific education in British and American colleges, and in the academies of the early nineteenth century, form the backbone of the study. The influence of the University of Edinburgh is demonstrated to have been enormous, and one gains a panoramic view of the emergence of natural history as a separate discipline. The relevance of some of the many details of biography and background might be queried, and it seems probable that fuller analyses of college curricula and textbooks would have been worth including. By and large, however, these chapters seem the best in the book, and form an important contribution to knowledge of the subject.

The two chapters on cultural centers and agencies for the diffusion of scientific knowledge are puzzling, because their intent is not clear. The Charleston situation is described in great detail, although the information is not especially new; Boston, on the other hand, is dismissed summarily on the ground that its "general intellectual life" has been adequately presented by Van Wyck Brooks and others. At times the authors appear to wish to interpret the available facts; often, however, they emphasize new evidence at the expense of balance.

Chapters on the microscope and on the contribution of publishers, artists, and engravers, contain much that is fresh or inaccessible. Least valuable, perhaps, is the first chapter, which describes the early writings on American natural history. It adds little to George Brown Goode's pioneer account, and displays a disturbing ineptitude in historical method. A digression on plagiarism suggests, on the basis of one verbal parallel, that William Strachey copied Oviedo's description of the opossum, although on the very next page is John Smith's account of that animal, containing at least three phrases echoed by Strachey. William Bartram's *Travels* is quoted at length because it is "inaccessible," and the bibliography confirms the suspicion that the 1928 reprint was accidentally overlooked. The entire book, in fact, shows a tendency to digression and slightly hasty generalizations (e.g., pp. 56, 129) which the most sympathetic readers will regret.

The general thesis, that the "naturalist," who flourished from 1725 to about 1850, lacked both rigid standards for observation and a philosophy of his own, fitting his explanations "to the current philosophy of his period," is well sustained in the eighth and twelfth chapters. Some persons will doubtless question the authors' corollary that the present-day scientist "lays the foundation for the philosophy of the next generation." But what this reviewer misses most is fuller consideration of suggestions made in passing. For example, it is probably true that in the eighteenth century the "increasing importance of experimental physics claimed the interest of students, with the result that natural history seemed unimportant." Of the implications of that statement—the questions of what relation natural history had to the dominant sciences in the minds of Americans, and of why in the early nineteenth century natural history came to overshadow to some degree its scientific rivals—there is very little said.

Anyone interested in the history of American thought will be grateful for this book. It does not, however, justify the implied promise of its title.

The University of Texas. THEODORE HORNBERGER.

THE AMERICAN IDEA. By Eugene T. Adams and Others. [New York:] Harper and Brothers. [1942.] viii, 278 pp. $2.50.

"When the great God lets loose a thinker on this planet," said Emerson, "beware." Ideas pry loose old walls and topple ancient institutions. Ideas as explosive as TNT have leveled civilizations. Yet ideas have life-giving nitrates, too, to refertilize the old soil of society and to make greater civilizations flourish on the ruins of the old. At the present moment quite rightly we interrogate ourselves to ask whether our idea, The American Idea, is evolutionary and progressive or whether it is static, retrogressive, decadent. Over the world there is no agreement as to whether democracy as practiced in the United States constitutes the "wave of the future" or a survival of an eighteenth-century, and therefore effete, liberalism. This study of the molding force of ideas in social progress is comparatively new; the term "intellectual history" has been applied to it by some authors, and Oscar Cargill has invented the valuable term "ideodynamics." Ideas are potential and kinetic; they are potential when used abstractly, but they become kinetic when applied to any practical situation. The concept of brotherhood and Josiah Willard Gibbs's laws for mixing liquids remained potential for many years; when applied appropriately they became kinetic.

Democracy is a concept alternately potential and kinetic. Within this larger concept are other concepts. The nine authors of *The American Idea,* in an elementary, cursory manner, have sought to state the common denominator of democracy in terms of the history, politics, economics, science, art, literature, education, religion, and philosophy of the United States. The authors do not always agree on basic principles, nor is an equal penetration apparent in the discussion of these nine disciplines. Yet because the essayists have hewn their own way, not even mentioning Parrington or Gabriel's *The Course of American Democratic Thought* or the several dozen volumes by other single individuals who have recently attempted definitions of democracy; *The American Idea* deserves a prominent place on the library shelf of popular exposition of difficult national ideas. It is a segmented, truncated "story of how America achieved the self-reliance for which Emerson and others sought."

Our interest lies chiefly in the chapter on literature, although this familiar story will attract less attention than the other chapters. Variously titled "The Spirit of American Literature," and in the Bibliography, "Democracy in Modern American Literature," this chapter asks this question: "To what extent have modern American poets, novelists, and dramatists realized Whitman's cosmic dream?" The question demonstrably does not fit the running chapter title; the text, therefore, serves to raise several questions, not so much about this competent yet narrowly specialized discussion, as about the whole field of literary scholarship at the present moment, especially with respect to literature as a source—one of many—for the history of ideas.

Has not too much of our literary history become a mere illustration of a text from a classic author? Have we not continued to substitute an accumulation of facts in accordance with nineteenth-century morphological scientific methodology for a survey of ideas breathing vitality into these facts? Have we not slighted the major problem of securing a firmer grasp upon philosophical techniques and results? Are we not trying in our literary criticism to balance a bucket of art or esthetics with a bucket of social thought; depending upon our righthandedness or our lefthandedness, have we not spilled more from the one bucket than the other? Have we not assumed that literature is the critically acclaimed classic-of-the-moment instead of the complete expression in words by all honest authors? Have we not assumed that a scattering of social and intellectual facts drawn from an encyclopedia to illuminate a play or poem or novel constitutes intellectual history; must we not reverse the process and subordinate a given work of art, in a discussion of intellectual history, to the dynamic of ideas? Have we not used (un)scientific sampling in considering a select list of famous writings an adequate survey of the ideas of a man, a coterie, an area, or a generation? Have we not erred in assuming that an idea is unimportant unless it finds its place in an esthetically satisfying piece of writing, and, as a corrollary, have we not assumed that the presence of an idea in such a writing heightens the importance of the idea?

Do not the foregoing questions suggest some of the errors marking the attempts to relate literature with intellectual history? The brilliant chapters on science and on religion in *The American Idea* serve to raise and help to answer these questions. *The American Idea* omits entirely a discussion of newspapers, magazines, radio, theater (including movies), and institutions of higher learning as formulators or transmitters of intellectual traditions. Because of these and other omissions, the humanistic disciplines, religion excepted, seem less dynamic in this book than we think they are.

University of Maryland. HARRY R. WARFEL.

JOHN AND WILLIAM BARTRAM. By Ernest Earnest. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1940. vi, 187 pp. $2.00.

This is the second volume to be issued by the University of Pennsylvania Press in its projected series of Pennsylvania Lives. Obviously the volumes are intended to combine scholarship and popular appeal, in itself a laudable undertaking perhaps, but not too successfully carried out in this instance. Mr. Earnest's book contains some fresh material, but its organization into sixteen meager chapters, its "easy" style—verging at times on mere chatter—, its paucity of footnotes, and the brevity of its "Bibliographical Note" restrict its usefulness. Moreover, the editing is regrettably unreliable. It is clear, for instance, that Mr. Conway Zirkle wrote his "Foreword" without having carefully read the book. Otherwise he could not make the statement that John Bartram established "the first botanic garden in America which contained both native and exotic species" (p. v.). Mr. Earnest's text (pp. 16-19) amply disproves this. A less important but nonetheless regrettable instance of careless editing is the misquotation from Chaucer, "Than ne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages" (p. 45).

Despite these shortcomings Mr. Earnest's brief biography of the two Philadelphia botanists is a valuable addition to the rapidly growing literature on the Bartrams. Too little has been known about these eighteenth-century figures whose influence on nineteenth-century writers, especially English and American, was considerable. Mr. Earnest is happier in his treatment of John, possibly because John had a more vivid, aggressive personality and therefore makes a better subject for biographical study. William, however, has a greater claim on the attention of the literary historian. His influence on the English Romantic poets and on many American writers, such as Thoreau and Lafcadio Hearn, was strong enough to deserve the scholarly interest bestowed upon it in recent years by Professors Lane Cooper, John Livingston Lowes, and Gilbert Chinard, and by this reviewer. Mr. Earnest seems content merely to restate some of this material. His own contribution to our knowledge of William is rather slight.

The sources of William Bartram's style, that strange "mixture of science and poetry," offered Mr. Earnest a genuine opportunity for shedding some much-needed light. Unfortunately Mr. Earnest's treatment of this subject is self-contradictory and confusing. On page 87 he insists that the "ultimate source" of William's style "is the pseudo-classic literature of England," but that he probably got it through his connection with "a pseudo-classic school nearer home," whose "chief exponents were . . . Thomas Godfrey, Jr., and Bartram's schoolfellows, Jacob Duché, Francis Hopkinson, and Nathaniel Evans." Yet he admits, on the same page, that "Pope and Addison were known to John Bartram . . . that the libraries he [William] used contained pseudo-classic writers," and that "William too knew his Pope." And later, in discussing William's attempt to reconcile instinct and intellect, he concludes that "In this Bartram is evidently drawing from Pope's *Essay on Man,* as his father had done before him" (p. 146).

Nevertheless, Mr. Earnest's book should prove helpful in reminding us once more that "a life devoted to a specialty does not necessarily require the shutting of all 'valves of the attention,' " and that "the gusto and humanity of Bartram's *Travels* is like a spring wind after a long winter."

The Johns Hopkins University. N. BRYLLION FAGIN.

JAMES HALL: *Literary Pioneer of the Ohio Valley.* By John T. Flanagan. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1941. vii, 218 pp. $2.50.

Professor Flanagan has attempted "to give an adequate picture" of what James Hall did and "to estimate its value in its own time and today." This purpose is represented in the book by a biographical sketch of eighty pages and a critical section of one hundred and twenty pages.

In the biographical portion, the author has assembled considerable information from encyclopedias, from magazine articles, special histories, and, to some extent, from primary materials. He has used Hall's manuscript journal of his voyage to the Mediterranean and some of his letters, and has examined a few newspaper files. In defense of the brevity of the biography, he explains that Hall was not a major figure and that "there is no reason to piece together every personal detail as an exercise in hagiography." Consequently he has failed to use most of the available sources of information, notably the pertinent manuscripts and newspapers. In his account, therefore, many events whose relation seems essential to an understanding of Hall are imperfectly explained or omitted entirely.

The author's method appears also to have been the cause of some minor errors which may be worthy of correction. Richard Hall was not the last Quaker in James Hall's ancestry (p. 6). His parents were married in 1783, not 1782 (p. 7). The most trustworthy manuscripts state that Hall was born on July 29, not August 19 (p. 9). It was before, not during, Morgan Neville's editorship of the Pittsburgh *Gazette* that Hall first used the pseudonym "Orlando" (p. 21). The murder trial that Hall prosecuted successfully in Shawneetown was not the first in Illinois (p. 31). The statement that Hall "continued to be an orthodox Presbyterian" after his quarrel with Lyman Beecher (p. 84) is incorrect; not long after that dispute Hall became an Episcopalian and was a leader in his church during the remaining twenty-five or thirty years of his life. It is careless to ascribe the whole of *Winter Evenings* to Hall (pp. 13 n., 88, 207). In this volume there are four tales, not three, as Professor Flanagan states. Certainly Hall was the author of the first one. But the author of the second, a factual tale, states that he lived and hunted with the Indians of the West in 1799 (when James Hall was six) and that the next summer, during a voyage to Italy, he took part in a fight with pirates. Robert Rose was the real author of this narrative. It is extremely doubtful that Hall was the author of the two remaining stories in the collection.

It was not Professor Flanagan's purpose to include in his criticism all of Hall's works. Yet in this part of the book he shows his wish to be fair to the writings that he discusses. Of the six chapters in this section the one dealing with Hall as a storyteller is most complete, and it will probably be most helpful to students, who will find in it thirty of Hall's stories neatly classified and summarized. Hall's own chief claim for his tales was that they contain "accurate descriptions of the scenery and population" of the frontier. Professor Flanagan finds the claim not so nearly justified for the characters of the narratives as for the scenery. "Hall's backgrounds," he observes, "are generally true, his landscapes convincing, his depictions of custom and costume reliable." The chapter dealing with Hall as a literary critic shows certain of the qualities of his mind. The final chapter briefly reviews evaluations of Hall's works from 1829 to the present. Professor Flanagan believes that "few men had more to do with the early cultural development of the Middle West, with the artistic awakening of the region bounded on the east by the Alleghenies and on the west by the Mississippi."

Fenn College. RANDOLPH C. RANDALL.

MORE DAY TO DAWN: *The Story of Thoreau of Concord.* By Harry Lee. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1941. xi, 167 pp. $2.50.

Among the mounting number of books, good and bad, about Thoreau, this volume deserves a modest place, partly by reason of a certain homespun resemblance to its subject, and partly from an interpretative instinct, grounded in spiritual intimacy.

Structurally, it employs the device of alternating prose and verse, brief introductions preceding one or more poems growing out of the particular situation just explained. So close, indeed, is the relationship at times that the prose assumes the character of a gloss for the verse. Quotations from Thoreau, variously derived, are adroitly and effectively introduced. Arranged in a chronological pattern, the topics of the sections constitute a surprisingly adequate biographical record, with occasional omissions for which no defense should be expected. Allusion to Thoreau's excursions into abolitionist oratory is confined, perhaps justifiably, to his personal association with John Brown. Mention of his speech at Framingham might conceivably have strengthened the impression of his courage in the face of a moral issue. Easily justified, too, as of no ultimate significance, is the disregard of the misunderstanding between Thoreau and Emerson which clouded the last years. Without forcing a point one may assume, I think, from a single line referring to the residence for an extended period of Thoreau in the Emerson home that the hint by a recent biographer of an affection for Lydian Emerson transcending the brotherly, meets here no favoring response.

> And all was as it should be
> Being Concord.

Both reverent and tender, the narrative is still not without its lighter interludes, and perhaps its inadvertencies. Of the elder Thoreau we are told,

> Father, his will to wander spent
> Made pencils, and was well content.

and of Henry, with a truly Wordsworthian flourish,

> And with her went her proudest joy,
> The shiny, newly scrubbed small boy,
> She knew as David Henry.

Such passages are, however, balanced by others of salty vigor, and poignant sympathy. The love of the brothers for Ellen and for one another, the manly "Three Honest Men Named John" and "Surveyor Turns Saunterer" stand out in particular. For any true lover of Thoreau there is, in short, much in these pages of sterling merit.

State University of Iowa. BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S EXPERIMENTS: *A New Edition of Franklin's "Experiments and Observations on Electricity."* Edited, with a Critical and Historical Introduction, by I. Bernard Cohen. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1941. xxviii, 453 pp. $4.00.

Dr. B. Franklin's contemporaries honored him as a speculative scientist who achieved a virtual *Principia* of electricity. Savants heralded him as America's and electricity's Newton, and poets imaged him as the New World's Prometheus. The good Doctor was idolized and his experiments idealized. Fellow scientists (and *virtuosi*) were impressed by Franklin's sober inductions, the laymen—and courtiers—by his dramatic device which wrenched lightning from clouds and channeled it to earth.

Since this reviewer is one of those who believe that Franklin was more skilled and absorbed in science, speculative as well as utilitarian, than most biographers and critics of him (after the eighteenth century) allow, he is disposed to be grateful for any scholarship which may help to accelerate the growth of Franklin's reputation as a *philosopher in science.* (He also suggests that I. Bernard Cohen's descriptive study is wise in honoring Franklin the master of induction at the relative expense of Franklin the master of devices, an opportunistic tinkering inventor merely.)

Mr. Cohen's 161-page introduction to the text of *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* is a valuable addendum to the history of the literature of natural science. The theme of Chapter I, "Franklin and Science [in general]," is that Franklin regarded himself as primarily a scientist—too commonly removed from his laboratory and books by the exigencies of politics and diplomacy. He persistently hopes "to have more Leisure, and to spend a part of it in those Studies, that are much more agreeable to me than political Operations." Chapter II, "Electricity before Franklin," is a useful compendium of facts less conveniently found in a half dozen full-length histories of the rise of electricity (as a speculative idea and a utilitarian fact). In Chapter III, "Franklin's Work in Electricity," Mr. Cohen observes that Franklin was in general ignorant of the experiments of his predecessors (and conversely that *after* he schooled himself in their works he made few contributions to electrical theory). Chief among his experiments are: his analysis of the Leyden jar; his explanation of "the single fluid theory of electricity"; his "hypothesis concerning the electrical nature of lightning, the explanation of the electrification of clouds, and the invention of the lightning rod." Few English and French experimenters were disposed to deny William Watson's honorable estimate of Franklin's ability: "scarce any body is better acquainted with the subject of electricity than himself" (p. 95). (Mr. Cohen includes an excellent summary of the vogue of lightning rods in England and France.) Chapter IV, "The Editions of Franklin's Book," is especially important for its meticulous Bibliographical Table, which lists the sequences and additions of material in the five English editions, 1751, 1754, 1760, 1769, and 1774.

Mr. Cohen observes that his text of *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* "is based on the last English edition (1774) and contains many letters and papers not to be found in the most recent and 'authoritative' edition of Franklin's works [A. H. Smyth's, 1905-1907, which reprints the 1769 edition]. The discovery of what corresponds to the manuscript of the most important early scientific letters ['Bowdoin MS' (in Library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences) which 'consists of a book bound in vellum containing the materials' of the 1751, first, edition] has enabled me to publish them under their true dates, as well as in a more complete form than has hitherto been possible" (pp. xi-xii). Mr. Cohen's observation that his reprint "contains many letters and papers" not in Smyth's *Writings of Benjamin Franklin* is misleading and ambiguous. "Remarks," pages 378-382, Franklin's comment on William Maine's "Account of the Effects of Lightning on his Rod . . . Aug. 28, 1760," pages 376-378, is the only item by Franklin which is not found in Smyth's edition. The "many letters and papers" are letters *to* Franklin and observations, English, French, and American, on Franklin's theories and practice. These include matter by Fothergill, William Watson, the Abbé Mazeas, D'Alibard, David Colden, John Canton, James Bowdoin, William Maine, and especially Ebenezer Kinnersley (see pp. 165-168, 239-240, 250-252, 256-257, 257-262, 262-264, 282-292, 293-301, 311-315, 320-323, 328-330, 348-358, 376-378, 393, 401-421). Appendix I, "The Lectures and Discoveries of Ebenezer Kinnersley 1711-1778," includes text of Franklin's disciple's experiments "Printed now for the first time from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania" (p. 409 n.). Mr. Cohen shows that Kinnersley "lectured about Franklin's hypothesis concerning the nature of lightning and the use of lightning rods before there was any news of the experimental confirmation from Europe and before Franklin published the account of his kite experiment in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*" (p. 406). (Incidentally, he nicely documents Kinnersley's sense of discipleship to Franklin. It is not tenable to hold that the experimenter felt that Franklin had failed to acknowledge his aid in electrical researches.) Appendix II is the anonymous "A Letter to Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. Fellow of the Royal Society. In which his Pretensions to the title of NATURAL PHILOSOPHER are considered," London, 1777, a copy of which is in the Harvard College Library. Franklin's traducer would have it that the Philadelphia scientist is "ignorant both of Philosophical Reasoning and Philosophical Principles . . . " (p. 424). Ridiculous that he should complacently accept the encomiums that he is America's Newton! Challenging Franklin's capacity as a philosopher, he observes that unless experiments "lead to some general principle, the effects of which can be accurately computed [mathematically?], they cannot with any propriety be called even philosophical facts . . ." (p. 427). Franklin is included among the ignorant virtuosi who enjoy "no other qualification but a strong disposition to stare" (p. 429). Franklin's "low-breeding" is equaled only by his ignorance of mathematics. Since Mr. Cohen's Introduction honors Franklin as a capable scientist, master of the inductive method, one may question the wit of choosing this piece as the conclusion to his sober and scholarly descriptions (especially since the rhetoric of the attack suggests the jocular spleen of one big with "unscientific" partisanship, perhaps more political than scientific). If Franklin is to be denied the role of philosopher in science, Franklin's self-criticism (nowhere cited in this volume) is more pointed—and relevant—than this anonymous tract. In a letter (1753) to Cadwallader Colden he confessed, "Your skill & Expertness in Mathematical Computations, will afford you an Advantage in these Disquisitions [electrical and other researches], that I lament the want of, who am like a Man searching for some thing in a dark Room where I can only grope and guess; while you proceed with a Candle in your Hand" ("Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden, IV [1748-54]," *Collections of the New York Historical Society* [1920], 372).

On page 345 Mr. Cohen without benefit of asterisk omits a paragraph found in Smyth's *Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* III, 390. The letter on page 212, July 29, 1750, should, one suspects, follow rather than precede another letter to Collinson, July 27, 1750, pages 241-244. If there was room for the text of the 1777 attack on Franklin's right to the title of philosopher, one might want to reserve space for the English committee's (Franklin, a member, drew up the text) reports on the use of lightning rods on the Purfleet powder stores (Smyth, V, 416-430).

Attractively bound in a blue cloth suggestive of electricity's hue and printed with Caslon type and precisely indexed, Mr. Cohen's volume is as delightful as it is careful. One may be disappointed that Mr. Cohen hazards no interpretations of Franklin's role as scientist in terms of Franklin's religious and social theories and practice. For example, to what degree did his acceptance of a deistic brand of rationalism condition his ardor to study the universe in terms of physical science, obliging him to hold with Thomas Paine that science is the only true theology? Or, to what degree did his scientific and rationalistic quest for what is empirically and mathematically demonstrable condition and accelerate the rise of his brand of deism? If, as this reviewer holds, Franklin's interest in science followed his revolt against Puritan bibliolatry and his delight in a natural religion which forced him to regard humanitarian services as the best way man can serve his Deity, then Franklin's science (especially his inventions and many projects) was his logical moral creed by which he could save man's time and energy and thus make the unhappy less unhappy. Even as speculative science suggests the mood of his rationalism, so utilitarian science suggests the mode of his humanitarian morality. Thus, Franklin, the many-minded man of projects, was the dramatic consequence of Franklin, the patient, and enthusiastic master of the inductive method, the speculative scientist who studied the Creator's wisdom and benevolence in the Creation.

Wayne University. CHESTER E. JORGENSON.

THE THEATRE OF THE GOLDEN ERA IN CALIFORNIA. By George R. MacMinn. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1941. 529 pp. $5.00.

Based on extensive research in California newspapers, magazines, and local documents, *The Theatre of the Golden Era in California* presents a racy picture of the theater of the Gold Rush days, and of the manners and customs of its audience. It is unfortunate, I think, that the author chose to present the results of his research in a form which, while it may have great appeal to the "general reader," is almost certain to be a disappointment to the student of the American theater. The latter, I am fairly certain, will wish that less space had been devoted to material which, while interesting in itself, has only a remote connection with the theater. He may find the long story of the curious relations of Mrs. Kirby to Mr.

and Mrs. Hambleton amusing reading, but he would, I suspect, prefer to have an exact calendar of the performances at Mrs. Kirby's theater. And I am sure he would be willing to trade several tales about Lola Montez's life in California for a complete account of a theatrical season at one of the mining camps.

The above statements do not imply that the serious student will find nothing of interest in the book. He will find a great deal. The chapters describing the "diversity of plays," the minstrels, and the Chinese entertainments, are excellent. Of great worth are the careful descriptions of the theater buildings, their decorations, and scenery; of the accounts of local plays; and the tabulations of the California performances of the plays in the repertory of the day. The student of social history will find the account of the stage in "a moral community" especially interesting.

While I generally agree with the conclusions the author draws from his material, I do not always do so. I find myself in particular disagreement with his statement that "the miners delighted in Shakespeare and seldom had too much of him." The author is not alone in implying that the midnineteenth-century audiences had an overwhelming fondness for Shakespeare. Most historians of the stage do so. The long list of Shakespeare's plays which were presented, and the frequent repetition of several of them, do not prove this. Neither do the glowing reviews of the newspapers. Until box office receipts are presented to prove that Shakespearean actors drew larger audiences than did Irish comedians, and particularly until evidence is forthcoming to show that a given actor consistently drew larger audiences in Shakespearean plays than the same actor did in contemporary verse plays or melodramas, I shall believe that the popularity of Shakespeare on the midnineteenth-century stage has been overrated. Such receipts as I have seen prove the contrary. In Chicago the receipts for the Rice theater in the fifties show that Charlotte Cushman's most popular play was *The Gypsey's Prophesy,* and that her *Macbeth* was a poor third. Barney Williams drew much larger audiences than did the most popular actor of Shakespeare. When Mr. MacMinn says that the miners "seldom had too much" of Shakespeare, does he imply that Matilda Heron and Margaret Jean Davenport attracted larger audiences as Juliet than as Camille? If he can prove by box receipts that they did, then, and only then, shall I be willing to admit "the miners seldom had too much."

The reproduction of several pictures of California add greatly to the value of the book. The bibliography and the index are excellent.

The University of Chicago. NAPIER WILT.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF GEORGE SANTAYANA. Edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp. Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University. 1940. xvi, 698 pp. $4.00.

This volume is for the most part a collection of eighteen critical essays on various aspects of Santayana's thought, writings, and history. To this analysis, the work of many well-known hands, Santayana has himself written a rejoinder of one hundred and eleven pages *(Apologia pro mente sua),* under thirteen heads, e.g., "Materialism," "Dogmatism," "Scepticism," "Criticism," "Humanism." In this essay Santayana praises the critic Henry Rosenthal for naming materialism the first foundation of his system (pp. 356, 357, 504). But he characteristically reminds his readers that this materialism is not an "academic opinion." It is "simply ordinary perception sustained in its impulsive trust but criticized in its deliverance" (p. 505). His doctrine of essences (ideas lifted from their immersion in existing objects and feelings) has, he thinks, received undue attention; also the technique of his poetry.. Criticism has overlooked the fact that his poetry is primarily "of things." Santayana reaffirms his ethical relativism, in replying to some questions of Bertrand Russell's (pp. 584, 585). When accused of historical inaccuracies, he pleads guilty, but adds that he has always read for pleasure, making his authors "a quarry and touchstone" of his own thoughts (p. 543). Perhaps his most characteristic remark is that he would never have believed anything if he could have helped it (p. 511). The volume should fulfill the general editor's hope of eliminating gross misunderstandings by asking searching questions of philosophers when living. It has also a useful bibliography of Santayana's writings to October, 1940, with an index to the bibliography.

Duke University. KATHARINE GILBERT.

DAS AMERIKABILD DES ROMANSCHRIFTSTELLERS WINSTON CHURCHILL. Von Dr. Johannes Killat. Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag. 1940. 107 pp. RM 4.50.

Those who are familiar with the writings of the American Winston Churchill will find no surprises—and little if anything to provoke disagreement—in Dr. Killat's monograph. It has the merit of being a methodical and painstaking analysis of an author's work and of thus serving as a satisfactory introduction to that author. Throughout the book the obviously important points about Churchill are stressed. His use of historical events and characters; his familiarity with the dominant traits of the American mind and character; his observations on the "boss system" in local politics, American corporations, American city slums, the potency of individualism in democratic institutions—all, naturally, are discussed. A whole chapter is devoted to the religious questions raised in *Dr. Jonathan, The Inside of the Cup,* and *A Far Country.* The suggestion is made that the speculations embodied in these works reflect a German influence, and certainly the influence of William James and Josiah Royce. Not the least of Dr. Killat's interests—although he keeps this interest well in hand—is that in Churchill's passing comments on German-Americans and on things German. The study ends with a chapter reviewing the critical appraisals of Churchill offered by reviewers and literary historians. To these Dr. Killat adds his own considered judgment—that the American author is an understanding interpreter of his country and his fellow countrymen.

The University of Kansas. JOHN HERBERT NELSON.

THE PLAIN DEALER: *One Hundred Years in Cleveland.* By Archer W. Shaw. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. Illustrated. 402 pp. $4.00.

Mr. Shaw has served for thirty-eight years on the editorial staff of the paper he chronicles. To that fact may be attributed both the strength and the weakness of his work.

Other people besides Clevelanders have been heard to say that the *Plain Dealer* is the best newspaper published west of the Alleghanies. Certainly it covers national and international news better than most Middle Western newspapers; nevertheless, it remembers its birth in the days when Cleveland was a village of 6,000-odd people. If the Indians seem to have a chance for the pennant, they can dislodge the war from the front page; the less meritorious doings of the more conspicuous home-town folks are soft-pedaled or omitted. Murder, rape, or divorce in New York or Hollywood may rate big headlines and wire photos, but when a scandal breaks in Cleveland the public seldom learns it first from the columns of the *Plain Dealer.*

The paper was born in the day when every little journalistic boy or gal was either a little Democrat or a little Whig. Through its first half-century of existence the *Plain Dealer* was the chief Democratic paper in a section of the state which began by voting Whig, and ending by voting Republican, but seldom liked Democrats well enough to elect them. During the Civil War it repeatedly advised Lincoln to resign forthwith, and let somebody govern who knew how to govern. Three weeks after Gettysburg it endorsed Clement Vallandigham for Governor of Ohio. Before, during, and after the war it took its full share in the current pastime of impugning the motives and attacking the veracity of rival editors. Up to 1885, in short, the *Plain Dealer* was a typical minority sheet, often on the wrong side, and usually on the losing one.

This checkered history Mr. Shaw relates with candor and humor. But the reader in search of frank and detailed history might just as well close the book at page 232. As soon as the story reaches the point where the paper passed into the hands of Liberty E. Holden and his associates, the immediate forerunners of the present management, Mr. Shaw begins to pull his punches. The story of a newspaper is the story of the community in which it lives, but Mr. Shaw gives no chapters on twentieth-century Cleveland to balance his vivid accounts of the city in 1842 and at the close of the Civil War. Such names as Cyrus S. Eaton, Continental Shares, Inc., Shaker Heights, the Vaness Corporation, and James A. House appear nowhere in the book. O. P. Van Sweringen is mentioned once, in a footnote; his brother is not mentioned at all. In other words, the forces which boomed Cleveland in the 1920's and bankrupted it in the 1930's are blandly ignored in the history of Cleveland's leading newspaper.

Even the account of the paper itself since 1885 is disappointing. There is plenty of detail about the buildings and machinery of the modern paper, but little about its people. Few of the character sketches of its leaders, living and dead, go below the surface or behind the scenes. Even at this mild level strange omissions occur. Probably the only old-timer on the staff who has a national reputation is Edwin Meade Robinson, but the only mention of his name is in the roster of employees who have served the paper for more than twenty years. Mr. Shaw had the materials for a history which would illuminate a whole cross-section of the Middle West; he has given us a well-mannered obituary editorial.

Western Reserve University. DeLancey Ferguson

BRIEF MENTION

GERMAN WORKS RELATING TO AMERICA 1493-1800: *A List Compiled from the Collections of the New York Public Library.* By Paul Ben Baginsky. New York: The New York Public Library, 1942. xv, 217 pp.

This compilation of some fifteen hundred titles, reprinted with revisions and corrections from the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library,* where it first appeared, in eleven parts, during 1938-1940, forms an important addition to German-American studies. Although designed primarily to supply the bibliographical groundwork for the study of "the development of the notion of America in Germany," the information offered and the suggestions made go far beyond the scope announced; and the whole is replete with important implications for the student of comparative cultural relations. An eleven-page introduction pointedly suggests a number of significant relationships. It would seem desirable that Professor Baginsky should enlarge this commentary considerably and thus turn to use and make available to others the rich and varied information which he gathered while preparing the bibliography. A detailed index of authors, titles, and subjects adds greatly to the utility of the bibliography.

University of Wisconsin. HENRY A. POCHMANN.

THE UNCOLLECTED POEMS OF HENRY TIMROD. Edited with an Introduction by Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1942. xvi, 121 pp. $2.00.

In this carefully edited volume Professor Cardwell has added ninety-five poems to the eighty-odd already included in either Hayne's 1873 edition or the Memorial Edition of 1899. The uncollected poems come from various sources. A number of them are reprinted from the *Southern Literary Messenger* and *Russell's Magazine,* but the largest number comes from a manuscript in the possession of the Charleston Library Society. The manuscript, catalogued under the heading of Autographic Relics, consists of thirty-five sheets of early poems dating chiefly from 1844-1855. Some of the poems were later revised and published by Timrod, but the majority have not been hitherto published. In an appendix Professor Cardwell includes four previously collected poems which were not included in the Memorial Edition, which is still in print, and a valuable check-list of "First or Early Appearances of Previously Collected Poems." In his Introduction Professor Cardwell discusses earlier editions of

Timrod's poems and comments on Timrod's development as a poet. Publication of most of the poems here first collected will not, in the editor's words, "add luster to Timrod's reputation as a poet. Many of the verses are schoolboy doggerel; many are crude or hackneyed efforts in the sentimental or amatory strain" (p. 2). Nevertheless, a few of the later poems are excellent, and the publication of them all enables one to study Timrod's development "from an adolescent versifier to an able craftsman." The University of Georgia Press, which published this excellent edition, will also bring out Professor Edd Winfield Parks's collection of Timrod's critical prose. Some Timrod scholar, it is to be hoped, will soon give us an adequate biography of the poet.

J. B. H.

A BALCONY IN CHARLESTON. By Mary Scott Saint-Amand. With a Foreword by Archibald Rutledge. Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Massie, Incorporated. [1941.] xiv, 157 pp. $3.00.

This volume is made up chiefly by selections from the letters, the recipes, and the published writings of Mrs. Caroline Howard Gilman. Mrs. Gilman was the editor of the *Southern Rose* and the wife of Dr. Samuel Gilman, pastor of the Unitarian Church in Charleston and author of "Fair Harvard." The volume includes an all-too-brief sketch of Mrs. Gilman's life, and it throws little light upon her editorial and literary ventures; but it includes extracts from two of her books: *Recollections of a New England Housekeeper* and *Recollections of a Southern Matron*. Some of the Civil War letters have been published before, but many other letters are new. Of especial interest are the letters addressed by Mrs. Gilman to her sister Anna Maria White, the mother of the first wife of James Russell Lowell.

J. B. H.

A SURVEY OF RESEARCH MATERIALS IN VIRGINIA LIBRARIES, 1936-37. Compiled by Harry Clemons, University of Virginia Library, with the Cooperation of Many Virginia Librarians. "University of Virginia Bibliographical Series Number One." Charlottesville, Virginia: Alderman Library. 1941. 100 pp.

This excellent survey of the research possibilities of Virginia libraries, mimeographed in 1938 and now published with minor corrections, represents the Virginia part of a national undertaking sponsored by the American Library Association. Of special interest to scholars is the section devoted to Manuscripts (pp. 14-23).

J. B. H.

THE WALDENSES IN THE NEW WORLD. By George B. Watts. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1941. xii, 309. $3.50.

Of special interest to students of American literature is the final chapter on "Music and Literature," in which Professor Watts discusses Whittier's poem "The Vaudois Teacher" and its vogue in French and Italian translations.

J. B. H.

PHILOSOPHER PICKETT: *The Life and Writings of Charles Edward Pickett, Esq., of Virginia, Who Came Overland to the Pacific Coast in 1842-43 and for Forty Years Waged War with Pen and Pamphlet against All Manner of Public Abuses in Oregon and California; Including also Unpublished Letters Written by Him from Yerba Buena at the Time of the Conquest of California by the United States in 1846-47.* By Lawrence Clark Powell. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1942. xvi, 178 pp. $1.50.

Mr. Powell has rescued from oblivion the life and work of a colorful figure, who reminds one of Thomas Paine. "For years his was almost a lone voice of protest against the corruption which characterized the ruthless exploitation and development of California. He might be called the West's first reformer" (p. viii).

J. B. H.

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN ENGLISH ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES. Part XIV, Outdoors—Pole. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Pp. 1653-1780. $4.00.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MANUAL FOR STUDENTS OF THE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES: *A Short-Title List.* Compiled by John Webster Spargo. Second Edition. Chicago: Packard and Company. [1941.] x, 260 pp. $1.50.

The first edition of Mr. Spargo's manual proved to be the best of the several in its field, and the present revision is marked by considerable improvement. No other guide for researchers in English offers as much material on the American field as does this one.

C. G.

THE RAVEN AND OTHER POEMS. By Edgar Allan Poe. Reproduced in Facsimile from the Lorimer Graham Copy of the Edition of 1845 with the Author's Corrections. With an Introduction by Thomas Ollive Mabbott. Published for The Facsimile Text Society. New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. xxviii, 91 pp. $1.80.

This is one of the most interesting of the Facsimile Text Society's reproductions in that the Lorimer Graham copy contains Poe's own revisions. The Introduction is, of course, a splendid contribution by one of the ablest authorities. It should be noted that Professor Mabbott has included some supplementary notes on the 1827 *Tamerlane* (pp. xxvi-xxvii).

C. G.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CULTURE: *The Disciplines of the Humanities.* Edited by Percy W. Long. Published for the Conference of Secretaries of the American Council of Learned Societies. Menasha, Wis.: The George Banta Publishing Company. 1942. viii, 331 pp. $3.00.

"The twenty-one papers in this volume form the body of a tribute presented to Waldo Gifford Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies, in recognition of his distinguished services to the history of culture and to the cooperation of the humanities. They were chosen for each Society by its Secretary in consultation with its delegates, the design being to present an example of each discipline, often in its relations with another discipline" (Mr. Long's Foreword). Surprisingly little in the volume deals with the American scene except for the very interesting contribution on "Old Detroit" by Mr. Randolph G. Adams. The Modern Language Association is ably represented by Professor W. A. Neilson's essay, "On Milton's Conception of Poetry."

C. G.

U. S. A.: *An Outline of the Country, Its People and Institutions.* By D. W. Brogan. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. [1941.] 144 pp. $1.00.

The Professor of Political Science in the University of Cambridge has produced in this compact little book a very accurate and lively description of the United States at the present time. The second chapter, on "The Government and Politics," is a brilliant analysis of our political system, and one which all Americans should read. There is a chapter on the press and another which treats of literature and the theater. These latter sections are comparatively weak, but nevertheless interesting.

C. G.

SIXTEEN FAMOUS AMERICAN PLAYS. Edited by Bennett A. Cerf and Van H. Cartwell. With an Introduction by Brooks Atkinson. New York: The Modern Library. [1942.] 1049 pp. $1.45.

Contains *Ah, Wilderness, Dead End, The Green Pastures, The Front Page, Life with Father, Waiting for Lefty,* and others of recent vintage. The Introduction may help the general reader—certainly not the student.

C. G.

I REMEMBER THE EMERSONS. By Mary Miller Engel. Los Angeles: Times-Mirror. 1941. 185 pp. $2.50.

Contains many interesting anecdotes and several valuable photographs of various relatives of R. W. Emerson. The book is especially significant as an indication of the effect of Emerson's pedagogical views on his own children.

C. G.

MERLE JOHNSON'S AMERICAN FIRST EDITIONS. Fourth Edition. Revised and Enlarged by Jacob Blanck. New York: R. R. Bowker Co. 1942. xviii, 553 pp. $10.00.

The present edition of this work, designed primarily for the use of collectors, embodies many corrections and lists of authors previously unrepresented, e.g., James Boyd, James T. Farrell, Charles Fenno Hoffman, Kenneth Roberts, John Steinbeck, and T. S. Stribling.

C. G.

PRINCETON VERSE BETWEEN TWO WARS: *An Anthology*. Edited, with a Preface, by Allen Tate. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1942. xx, 112 pp. $2.50.

Undergraduate verse. C. G.

BOOKMAN'S HOLIDAY: *The Private Satisfactions of an Incurable Collector.* By Vincent Starrett. New York: Random House. [1942.] 312 pp. $3.00.

Among these rambling essays there is one which deals with Mother Goose.

C. G.

JOHN PETER ZENGER: *His Press, His Trial and a Bibliography of Zenger Imprints.* By Livingston Rutherfurd. New York: Peter Smith. 1941. xiv, 275 pp. $5.00.

This reproduction of a valuable work of interest to historians of the press and of printing in the United States contains also a reprint of the first edition of the *Case and Trial,* one of the classics in the troubled annals of freedom of speech.

C. G.

HENRY WARD BEECHER: *An American Portrait.* By Paxton Hibben. With a Foreword by Sinclair Lewis. New York: The Press of the Readers Club. [1942.] xiv, 361 pp. $1.50.

A reprint for a book-club. C. G.

A GUIDE TO RESEARCH SOURCES IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE. By Emil Greenberg. New York University Bookstore: Washington Square, N. Y. C. [1942.] 110 pp. Mimeographed. $0.75.

A less exhaustive guide than Mr. Spargo's but one which will prove useful especially to the beginning graduate student.

C. G.

THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY: *Review of the Activities and Acquisitions of the Library from 1936 through 1940: A Summary of the Annual Reports of the Director to the Board of Trustees.* New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library. 1941. xiii, 127 pp.

A beautiful illustrated brochure. C. G.

THE AMERICAN THESAURUS OF SLANG: *A Complete Reference Book of Colloquial Speech.* By Lester V. Berrey and Melvin Van Den Bark. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1942. xxx, 1174 pp. $5.00.

"In general the specialized terms included . . . were checked for accuracy by specialists. Not only was use made of various books and lists such as Judge J. C. Ruppenthal's word list from Kansas in the fourth volume of *Dialect Notes,* E. K. Kane's comprehensive list of vagabond terms in the fifth volume, and David Maurer's various glossaries of underworld expressions in *American Speech;* there were also consultations with '*savants*' of other types" (Louise Pound, in Foreword). The word "complete" on the title page is far from being justified, but the volume is the most extensive thus far produced and is much fuller than the work of Eric Partridge.

C. G.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), C. Doren Tharp (University of Miami), Frederick B. Tolles (Swarthmore College), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

The section on LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE will hereafter be omitted. Complete annotated bibliographies may be found, for LANGUAGE, compiled by Woodford A. Heflin, Elliott V. K. Dobbie, and S. N. Treviño, quarterly in *American Speech,* and for FOLK LITERATURE, compiled by R. S. Boggs, annually in March in the *Southern Folklore Quarterly.*

Items for the check-list to be published in the November, 1942, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the Committee, Lewis Leary, Duke University, Durham, N. C.

I. 1607-1800

[DEARBORN, BENJAMIN] Lippencott, Margaret E. "Dearborn's Musical *Scheme.*" *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar. Bull.,* XXV, 134-142 (Oct., 1941).

Biographical and bibliographical detail on Benjamin Dearborn (1754-1838), musician, schoolmaster, inventor, author.

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Adams, Randolph G. "A Passy Passport." *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Lib.,* V, 5-8 (Dec., 1941).

An item from Franklin's press in Passy, France.

Hoffman, Robert V. See below, *s. v.* GENERAL.

Pitt, A. Stuart. "The Sources, Significance, and Date of Franklin's 'An Arabian Tale.'" *PMLA,* LVII, 155-168 (March, 1942).

A review of possible sources (in Locke, Addison, Pope, Thomson, Buffon, Milton) of Franklin's tale on the chain-of-being provides a "valuable insight into the development of Franklin's thought," because it establishes that he was an eclectic thinker, "not indebted to any philosophy or sectarian doctrine."

[Jefferson, Thomas] Bullock, Helen Duprey. "The Papers of Thomas Jefferson." *Amer. Archivist,* IV, 238-249 (Oct., 1941).

The location and preservation of Jefferson MSS, and the compilation by the University of Virginia of an exhaustive check-list.

Marraro, Howard W. "Four Versions of Jefferson's Letter to Mazzei." *Wm. and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.,* XXII, 18-29 (Jan., 1942).

[Mather, Cotton] Porter, Katherine Anne. "Affection of Praehiminincies." *Accent,* II, 131-138 (Spring, 1942).

A section of a forthcoming biography of Mather.

[Otis, James] M. M. "Polemics of James Otis." *More Books,* XVII, 115 (March, 1942).

[Paine, Thomas] Abel, Darrel. "The Significance of the Letter to the Abbé Raynal in the Progress of Thomas Paine's Thought." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.,* LXVI, 176-190 (April, 1942).

"It shows Paine's political opinion at its fullest development, and many of the opinions expressed in it have validity still."

Gibbens, V. E. "Tom Paine and the Idea of Progress." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.,* LXVI, 191-204 (April, 1942).

A wholehearted believer in the idea of progress, Paine held that representative democracy would be the principal means of achieving reforms.

Palmer, R. R. "Tom Paine: Victim of the Rights of Man." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.,* LXVI, 161-175 (April, 1942).

"It was Paine's fate . . . to become more radical while all three of his countries became less so, to live into the nineteenth century without ceasing to be a man of the eighteenth."

Wecter, Dixon. "Hero in Reverse." *Va. Quar. Rev.,* XVIII, 243-259 (April, 1942).

Posterity has never done Paine justice, and because of the long hue and cry against him, it is probably too late for him ever to gain his true status as an American hero.

[Taylor, Edward] Warren, Austin. "Edward Taylor's Poetry: Colonial Baroque." *Kenyon Rev.,* III, 355-371 (Summer, 1941).

Taylor "must be accounted not only the best American poet before Bryant but the latest of known poets writing in the baroque style."

[Woolman, John] Darlington, Mary Ellis. "A Woolman Document." *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Lib.,* V, 61-62 (Dec., 1941).

Record of a Woolman deed, dated August 9, 1762.

Spiller, Robert E. "John Woolman on War." *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Lib.,* V, 60-91 (Dec., 1941).

First publication of a MS on war which "may have been originally intended as part" of Woolman's *Journal.*

II. 1800-1870

[AUDUBON, J. J.] Weeks, Mangum. "On John James Audubon." *So. Atlantic Quar.,* XLI, 76-87 (Jan., 1942).

[FRANCIS, J.-H.] Holman, W. L. (ed.). "Diary of the Rev. James-Hanmer Francis, 1837-1838." *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quar.,* LI, 41-61 (Jan.-March, 1942).

Diary of a New England clergyman of his travels by horseback 1,801 miles from New York to Iowa in 1837-1838.

[FULLER, MARGARET] Stern, Madeleine B. See below, *s. v.* POE.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Blair, Walter. "Color, Light, and Shadow in Hawthorne's Fiction." *New Eng. Quar.,* XV, 74-94 (March, 1942).

"Not only in his tales but also in his great romances, Hawthorne employs hues and chiaroscuro . . . to characterize, to mark important changes in the narrative, and to stand for moral meanings."

Foster, Charles Howell. "Hawthorne's Literary Theory." *PMLA,* LVII, 241-254 (March, 1942).

A study of Hawthorne's theory of art, "pieced together from allegory, preface, and chance remark," reveals that he was a "less somber individual than is supposed in much contemporary critical thought."

Wright, Nathalia. "Hawthorne and the Praslin Murder." *New Eng. Quar.,* XV, 5-14 (March, 1942).

The celebrated French crime in 1847 contributed to the dark background of *The Marble Faun.*

[KEY, FRANCIS SCOTT] Lippencott, Margaret E. "O'er the Land of the Free." *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar. Bull.,* XXV, 28-36 (Jan., 1941).

The history of "The Star-Spangled Banner" from 1814 to its adoption as the national anthem in 1931.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Gibbs, Lincoln. "A Brahmin's Version of Democracy." *Antioch Rev.,* I, 50-62 (Spring, 1941).

Lowell possessed native sagacity and idealism; he was by temperament a democrat. Training in social sciences and participation in practical politics would have rendered his philosophy more adequate and given him real influence in the destiny of a democratic America.

[MARSH, JAMES] Dewey, John. "James Marsh and American Philosophy." *Jour. of the Hist. of Ideas,* II, 131-150 (April, 1941).

Marsh's "philosophy is an Aristotelian version of Kant made under the influence of a profound conviction of the inherent *moral* truths of the teachings of Christianity."

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Myers, Henry Alonzo. "Captain Ahab's Discovery: The Tragic Meaning of *Moby Dick.*" *New Eng. Quar.,* XV, 15-34 (March, 1942).

". . . the main point of *Moby Dick* is that any great human action will show that the heavens and the deeps, eternal symbols of man's triumphs and disasters, are merely the limits of his experience, related to each other through that experience and dependent upon each other and upon him for their meaning."

Waggoner, Hyatt Howe. "A Possible Verse Parody of Moby-Dick in 1865." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 3-6 (April, 1942).

[Poe, E. A.] Adams, Percy G. "Poe, Critic of Voltaire." *Mod. Lang. Notes,* LVII, 273-275 (April, 1942).

Pittman, Diana. "Key to the Mystery of Edgar Allan Poe. *Ebony Shadows* Series. Metzengerstein." *So. Lit. Messenger,* IV, 81-85 (Feb., 1942).

Continued from previous issues.

Stern, Madeleine B. "The House of the Expanding Doors: Ann Lynch's Soirées, 1846." *N. Y. Hist.,* XXIII, 42-51 (Jan., 1942).

Greeley, Poe, Margaret Fuller, and others of the New York literati spent evenings at Miss Lynch's.

[Simms, W. G.] Wegelin, Oscar. "Simms's First Publication." *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar. Bull.,* XXV, 26 (Jan., 1941).

Full title and collation of The Monody. / on the Death of / Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. / By / A South-Carolinian / . . . [1825].

[Sprague, Achsa W.] Twynham, Leonard. "Achsa W. Sprague (1827-1862)." *Proc. of the Vermont Hist. Soc.,* n. s., IX, 271-279 (Dec., 1941).

Miss Sprague was a popular spiritualistic medium, reformer, lecturer, advocate of women's rights, and writer, "few of whose works have been published, but whose unpublished writings include poetry, essays, journals, and a play."

Twynham, Leonard (ed.). "Selections from Achsa W. Sprague's Diary and Journal." *Proc. of the Vermont Hist. Soc.,* n. s., IX, 131-184 (Sept., 1941).

[Thoreau, H. D.] Benson, Adolph B. "Scandinavian Influences in the Writings of Thoreau." *Scandinavian Studies,* XVI, 201-211 (May, 1941), 241-256 (Aug., 1941).

Thomas, William S. "Thoreau as His Own Editor." *New Eng. Quar.,* XV, 101-103 (March, 1942).

The original (1842) version of Thoreau's tribute to his brother differs materially from the published form, which underwent revision and abridgment.

[White, J. B.] Weidner, Paul R. (ed.). "The Journal of John Blake White." *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XLIII, 35-46 (Jan., 1942), 103-117 (March, 1942).

The journal is now edited, from 1800, through May, 1813. To be continued.

[Whittier, J. G.] Delavan, Wayne. "Whittier Promoted Free Kansas." *Aerend,* XII, 81-86 (Spring, 1941).

III. 1870-1900

[Brooks, Phillips] Hochmuth, Marie. "Phillips Brooks." *Quar. Jour. of Speech,* XXVII, 227-236 (April, 1941).

Brooks's effectiveness as an orator is accounted for in the adjustment of his character, manner, and message to the time and place in which he lived.

[Brownson, O. A.] Cook, Thomas I., and Leavelle, Arnaud B. "Orestes A. Brownson's *The American Republic.*" *Rev. of Politics,* IV, 77-90 (Jan., 1942).

[Burroughs, John] Devoe, Alan. "John Burroughs, Inspired Farmer." *Amer. Mercury,* LIII, 111-114 (July, 1941).

An appreciative biographical sketch.

[Clemens, S. L.] Brownell, G. H. "A Question as to the Origin of the Name, 'Mark Twain.'" *Twainian,* I, 4-7 (Feb., 1942).

The pseudonym used as early as December 13, 1863.

Carter, Paul. "Mark Twain and War." *Twainian,* I, 1-3, 7 (March, 1942).

Davidson, William Earl. "Mark Twain and Conscience." *Twainian,* I, 1-3 (April, 1942).

DeVoto, Bernard. "Mark Twain about the Jews." *Jewish Frontier,* VI, 7-9 (May, 1939).

Roberts, Harold. "Sam Clemens: Florida Days." *Twainian,* I, 4-6 (March, 1942).

The influence of John A. Quarles on Clemens.

Templin, E. H. "On Re-reading Mark Twain." *Hispania,* XXIV, 269-276 (Oct., 1941).

One "finds in Mark Twain a strange flavor of Spanish literature": Clemens is "a sort of adolescent Cervantes."

[Dickinson, Emily] Connors, Donald F. "The Significance of Emily Dickinson." *Coll. Eng.,* III, 624-633 (April, 1942).

"In the work of no other poet do we find thought and its expression so utterly dependent upon introspection." To Emily Dickinson beauty for its own sake was enough; she felt no compulsion to justify it with a utilitarian purpose nor to make her verse point a lesson.

[Foster, Stephen] Howard, John Tasker. "Stephen Foster's Contribution to Our American Life." *Pitt,* No. 7, pp. 37-39 (Spring, 1941).

In a few songs he "embodied the emotions that express the best that man has within him."

[Herne, James A.] Waggoner, Hyatt Howe. "The Growth of a Realist: James A. Herne." *New Eng. Quar.,* XV, 62-73 (March, 1942).

Herne's interest in science influenced his development as a dramatist by leading him toward realism, by destroying his respect for old methods and beliefs, by suggesting a naturalistic approach, and by introducing him to new themes.

[Howells, W. D.] Kazin, Alfred. "Howells: A Late Portrait." *Antioch Rev.,* I, 216-233 (June, 1941).

Howells lacked "perception at the pitch of passion."

[Peirce, C. S.] Weiss, Paul. "Charles Saunders Peirce." *Sewanee Rev.,* L, 184-192 (April-June, 1942).

A brief survey of the career of the founder of American pragmatism.

[Whitman, Walt] Carpenter, Frederic I. "Walt Whitman's 'Eidolon.'" *Coll. Eng.,* 534-545 (March, 1942).

In his poetry, if not in his actual life, Whitman merged himself with his ideal opposite and became something greater than either—an interpreter not only of the democratic "eidolon" but also of the universal God.

Molinoff, Katherine. "Walt Whitman at Smithtown." *Long Island Forum,* IV, 179-180, 182-184 (Aug., 1941).

Rubin, Joseph Jay. "Whitman as a Dramatic Critic." *Quar. Jour. of Speech,* XXVIII, 45-49 (Feb., 1942).

Whitman's editorials in the Brooklyn *Eagle* reveal "a desire that the drama should exercise a moral function; an impatience with New York critics; and a program for American managers."

Stovall, Floyd. [On Whitman's Calamus poems.] *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.,* III, 68-69 (Feb., 1942).

"I see no reason to suppose that the Calamus poems are veiled accounts of homosexual experiences."

Starr, William T. "Jean Giono and Walt Whitman." *French Rev.,* XIV, 118-129 (Dec., 1940).

Winwar, Frances. "Whitman's Calamus Poems." *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.,* III, 66-68 (Feb., 1942).

Denies finding any evidence in Calamus poems to support contention that Whitman was homosexual.

IV. 1900-1942

[ANDERSON, SHERWOOD] Dell, Floyd. "How Sherwood Anderson Became an Author." *N. Y. Herald-Tribune Books,* XVIII, 1-2 (April 12, 1942).

A significant essay-review of *Sherwood Anderson's Memoirs,* written by a man whom Anderson names as one of his "literary fathers."

[BROMFIELD, LOUIS] Derrenbacher, Merle. "Louis Bromfield: A Bibliography." *Bull. of Bibl.,* XVII, 112 (Sept.-Dec., 1941).

"Attempts to be as complete as possible through the year 1940" with "a few entries in 1941." Includes translations in French and German; excludes book reviews.

[CHENEY, RALPH] LeClaire, Gordon. "Dr. Ralph Cheney, 1896-1941." *Verse Craft,* XI, 152-153 (Nov.-Dec., 1941).

[ENGLE, PAUL] van Gelder, Robert. "An Interview with Iowa's Paul Engle." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.,* March 22, 1942, p. 2.

The South is "our No. 1 literary problem . . . [Southern writers] are anti-democratic." Ridicules contemporary "vogue of obscurantism, of every one trying to write like John Donne."

[ELIOT, T. S.] Hogan, J. P. "Eliot's Later Verse." *Adelphi,* XXVIII, 54-58 (Jan.-March, 1942).

"In Eliot's later work we pass beyond the world of ideas and ideals, of abstractions and absolutes, and enter the green kingdom within where no evil is done as a means to good, where there is no clamour of righteousness in protest against evil."

Winters, Yvor. "T. S. Eliot: The Illusion of Reaction." *Kenyon Rev.,* III, 7-30 (Winter, 1941), 221-239 (Spring, 1941).

An exposition of self-contradictions in Eliot's critical theory and of the effects of his main tendencies on his poetry and on his disciples.

[FAULKNER, WILLIAM] Beck, Warren. "Faulkner and the South." *Antioch Rev.,* I, 82-93 (March, 1941).

"Faulkner . . . is no mere sociological realist. He is a literary genius who has painted what he has seen in the light of a temperament sensitive, comprehensive, and profound."

[GLASGOW, ELLEN] Snelling, Paula. "Ellen Glasgow and Her South." *No. Georgia Rev.,* VI, 26-27 (Winter, 1941).

[GREEN, JULIEN] Lehner, Frederick. "Julien Green." *French Rev.,* XV, 385-394 (March, 1942).

"What we find in Green's novels is a gripping description of night, but also . . . a fervent hope that there is a deeper sense in suffering and darkness."

[HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Baker, Carlos. "The Hard Trade of Mr. Hemingway." *Delphian Quar.,* XXIII, 12-17 (July, 1940).

[HERGESHEIMER, JOSEPH] Hergesheimer, Joseph. "Scholasticus, in se Scholia Facit. Or, Java Head Revisited." *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chron.*, III, 52-55 (Feb., 1942).

[HUNEKER, JAMES] Fay, Eliot C. "Huneker's Criticism of French Literature." *French Rev.*, XIV, 130-137 (Dec., 1940).

[MASTERS, E. L.] van Gelder, Robert. "An Interview with Mr. Edgar Lee Masters." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, Feb. 15, 1942, pp. 2, 28.

[MOORE, MARIANNE] Burke, Kenneth. "Motives and Motifs in the Poetry of Marianne Moore." *Accent,* II, 157-169 (Spring, 1942).

[NATHAN, G. J.] van Gelder, Robert. "An Interview with George Jean Nathan." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, Feb. 1, 1942, pp. 2, 20.

[O'NEILL, EUGENE] Norwood, Gilbert. "The Art of Eugene O'Neill." *Dalhousie Rev.*, XXI, 143-157 (July, 1941).

[PAUL, ELLIOT] van Gelder, Robert. "An Interview with Mr. Elliot Paul." *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, March 1, 1942, pp. 2, 23.

[PORTER, KATHERINE ANNE] Warren, Robert Penn. "Katherine Anne Porter." *Kenyon Rev.*, IV, 29-42 (Winter, 1942).

"She belongs to the relatively small group of writers . . . who have done serious, consistent, original, and vital work in the form of short fiction."

[RANSOM, JOHN CROWE] Baker, Joseph E. "Philosopher and New Critic." *Sewanee Rev.*, L, 167-170 (April-June, 1942).

[ROBERTS, KENNETH] Baker, Carlos. "The Novel and History: Kenneth Roberts." *Delphian Quar.*, XXIV, 15-20 (Jan., 1941).

[STEINBECK, JOHN] "Steinbeck of California." *Delphian Quar.*, XXIII, 40-45 (April, 1940).

Fairley, Barker. "John Steinbeck and the Coming Literature." *Sewanee Rev.*, L, 145-161 (April, 1942).

A survey of Steinbeck's achievement to the present suggests the direction in which he, and other creative writers, may travel in the future.

[STILL, JAMES] Kohler, Dayton. "Jesse Stuart and James Still, Mountain Regionalists." *Coll. Eng.*, III, 523-533 (March, 1942).

[STUART, JESSE] Kohler, Dayton. See above, *s. v.* STILL.

[WILSON, EDMUND] Fiess, Edward. "Edmund Wilson: Art & Ideas." *Antioch Rev.*, I, 356-367 (Fall, 1941).

Schwartz, Delmore. "The Writing of Edmund Wilson." *Accent,* II, 177-186 (Spring, 1942).

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Baker, Carlos. "Thomas Wolfe's Apprenticeship." *Delphian Quar.*, XXIII, 20-25 (Jan., 1940).

[Woollcott, Alexander] Isaacs, Edith J. R. "The Critical Arena: II. The Theatre of Alexander Woollcott." *Theatre Arts,* XXVI, 191-200 (March, 1942).

[Young, Stark] Isaacs, Edith J. R. "The Critical Arena: III. The Theatre of Stark Young." *Theatre Arts,* XXVI, 257-265 (April, 1942).

V. General

Aiken, Conrad. "American Writers Come of Age." *Atlantic Monthly,* CLXIX, 476-481 (April, 1942).

Scores Van Wyck Brooks *(The Opinions of Oliver Allston)* and Oscar Cargill *(Intellectual America)* for dismissing many modern writers as "escapists," members of "coteries," Freudians, Intelligentsia, and Decadents.

Boggs, R. S. (comp.). "Folklore Bibliography for 1941." *So. Folklore Quar.,* VI, 11-68 (March, 1942).

Chase, Daniel. "Local Color." *Christian Science Monitor,* XXXIV, 8 (Feb. 12, 1942).

A comment on quaint names used in local color stories.

Deutsch, Babette. "Religious Elements in Modern Poetry." *Menorah Jour.,* XXIX, 21-48 (Jan.-March, 1941).

Eich, Louis M. "The Stage Yankee." *Quar. Jour. of Speech,* XXVII, 16-25 (Feb., 1941).

Traces the development of the stage Yankee, from broad comedy in Jonathan of *The Contrast* to high comedy in Uncle Nat of *Shore Acres* and Joshua Whitcomb of *The Old Homestead.*

Farrell, James T. "Literature and Ideology." *Coll. Eng.,* III, 611-623 (April, 1942).

Literature must solve its own problems; it cannot be turned into the handmaiden of politics and the looking-glass of ideologies.

Fess, Gilbert Malcolm. "The American Revolution in Creative French Literature (1775-1937)." *University of Missouri Studies,* Vol. XVI, No. 2 (1941), pp. 1-119.

Gardiner, Harold C. "Modern Authors Can Be Gentlemen." *America,* LXVI, 493-494 (Feb. 7, 1942).

"Style is to writing what graciousness is to deportment."

Gleason, Elsie Grady. "Newspapers of the Panhandle of Oklahoma, 1886-1940." *Chrons. of Oklahoma,* XIX, 141-161 (June, 1941).

Guinan, James W. "The Catholic and the Novel." *Catholic Bookman,* V, 112-114 (March-April, 1942).

The winning essay in an intercollegiate contest sponsored annually for students of Jesuit colleges and universities in the Midwest.

Hall, Dorothy. "The Function of Literature." *Antioch Rev.,* I, 388-397 (Sept., 1941).

Contemporary writers measured against standards of form, social content, and values.

Heflin, W. A., Dobbie, E. V. K., and Treviño, S. N. "Bibliography [of Linguistics]." *Amer. Speech,* XVII, 59-63 (Feb., 1942).

Hellman, Hugo E. "The Influence of the Literary Society in the Making of American Orators." *Quar. Jour. of Speech,* XXVIII, 12-14 (Feb., 1942).

A constant and appreciable influence, exemplified in Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Phillips, Henry, Lincoln, and Douglas.

Hocker, E. W. "The First American Kindergarten Teacher." *Amer.-Germ. Rev.,* VIII, 9-10, 36 (Feb., 1942).

Elizabeth Peabody's Kindergarten in Boston (1860) was not the first such school in America, for Caroline Louisa Frankenberg, a student under Fröbel in Germany, conducted a kindergarten in Columbus, Ohio, in 1838.

Hoffman, Robert V. "New Jersey in the Revolutionary Scene." *Americana,* XXXVI, 22-66 (Jan., 1942).

Contains, among other details, an account of the relation between Benjamin Franklin and his son William, the Tory governor of New Jersey.

Humphreys, Rolfe. "Memo for Mr. Jarrell." *Nation,* CLIV, 342 (March 21, 1942).

A reply to an essay on modern poetry published in the *Nation* by Richard Jarrell on February 21 (see below).

Jantz, Harold S. "German Thought and Literature in New England, 1620-1820." *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.,* XLI, 1-45 (Jan., 1942).

The German intellectual and literary influence which became preeminent in New England after 1820 was the culmination of a long, indigenous American development with which New England had long been deeply familiar.

Jarrell, Richard. "The End of the Line." *Nation,* CLIV, 222-228 (Feb. 21, 1942).

An essay on modern poetry, English and American.

Jones, M. B. "'L'Attaque du Moulin' in American Translation." *Mod. Lang. Notes,* LVII, 207-208 (March, 1942).

Since 1882 Zola's finest *conte* has appeared in eleven American versions.

Kain, Richard M. "The Literary Reputation of Turgenev in England and America." *Madison Quar.,* II, 14-23 (Jan., 1942).

King, Rolf. "Sketches of Early German Influence on Rochester's Theatrical and Musical Life." *Amer.-Germ. Rev.,* VIII, 13-15 (Dec., 1941).

McLeish, Archibald. "The Library of Congress Protects Its Collections." *A L A Bull.,* XXXVI, 74-75 (Feb., 1942).

A brief survey of emergency steps taken for the moving and safekeeping of materials.

Miers, Earl Schenck. "Richard Ellis, Printer." *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Lib.,* V, 39-59 (Dec., 1941).

Miller, Edmund E. "Das New Yorker Belletristische Journal, 1851-1911." *Amer.-Germ. Rev.,* VIII, 24-27 (Dec., 1941).

Morgan, Arthur E. "First American Utopian Story." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 9-10 (April, 1942).

A note on *Symzonia,* by "Captain Adam Seaborn" (pseud.), New York, 1820.

Morgan, Edmund S. "Light on the Puritans from John Idull's Notebooks." *New Eng. Quar.,* XV, 95-101 (March, 1942).

Puritanism did not ignore human nature in an endeavor to reach perfection; its essence lies somewhere between common-sense realism and exalted faith.

Nash, Ray. "Early Writing Masters in Vermont." *Proc. of the Vermont Hist. Soc.,* n. s., IX, 27-37 (March, 1941).

Peery, William. "American Folk Drama Comes of Age." *Amer. Scholar,* XI, 149-157 (Spring, 1942).

"Let American folk dramatists forget their folkiness and get down to . . . writing plays that will help Americans understand other Americans."

Powers, Alfred. "Chronicle of Western Books Published in 1941." *Oregon Hist. Quar.,* XLIII, 63-81 (March, 1942).

Richardson, Lyon N. "Men of Letters and the Hayes Administration." *New Eng. Quar.,* XV, 110-141 (March, 1942).

Heretofore unpublished letters which indicate that some of our foremost writers stood staunchly by Hayes during the politically dark months of 1876-1877.

Rugheimer, Virginia, and Cardwell, Guy A., Jr. "Charleston College Library (Southern Collections, I)." *So. Atlantic Bull.,* VII, 3, 6-7 (Feb., 1942).

The first of a series by different authors on opportunities for research in the South.

Saunders, D. A. "Social Ideas in the McGuffey Readers." *Public Opinion Quar.,* V, 579-589 (Winter, 1941).

McGuffey "instead of being canonized as a historical saint . . . lives in the everyday speech of the people."

Savage, Courtenay. "Catholic Theatre Looks Ahead." *America,* LXVI, 549-550 (Feb. 21, 1942).

Spell, J. R. "Hispanic Contributions to the Early Theatre in Philadelphia." *Hispanic Rev.,* IX, 192-198 (Jan., 1941).

Thompson, Lawrence. "Background for Modern Poetry." *Antioch Rev.,* II, 90-102 (Spring, 1942).

Recent critical controversies concerning the intent of the poem are related to older controversies between proponents of poetry as instruction and poetry as delight.

Wegelin, Oscar. "Six Early Western Imprints." *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar. Bull.,* XXV, 73-76 (April, 1941).

Newly recorded California, Iowa, and Colorado items of the mid-nineteenth century.

Wheeler, Joseph Towne. "Reading Interests of Maryland Planters and Merchants, 1700-1776." *Md. Hist. Quar.,* XXXVII, 26-41 (March, 1942).

List of books mentioned in correspondence of the colonists.

Zucker, A. E. "Die Abendschule, 1853-1940, A Pioneer Weekly." *Amer.-Germ. Rev.,* VIII, 14-17 (Feb., 1842).

The establishment and later influence of a Lutheran paper which became the lifework of Louis Lange.

POE'S REPUTATION IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA, 1850-1909

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IT HAS BEEN Edgar Allan Poe's fortune—or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the writer himself provided adequate insurance—that nothing connected with his name is dull, not even the story of his fame.[1]

In the New York *Tribune* two days after Poe's death, Rufus W. Griswold, signing himself "Ludwig," presented, without anticipation, one surmises, of the weight of his words, the conclusions which were to be for thirty years or more the major issues in the Poe controversy. Griswold also edited in 1850, at the insistence, he stated, of Poe's friends who remembered the dead writer's wish,[2] the collected works.[3] There are three prefatory notices. Lowell's excellent study, first published in *Graham's* in February, 1845, is reprinted with a number of omissions and additions.[4] N. P. Willis's memoir from the *Home Journal* of October 20, 1849, containing a vigorous refutation of the "Ludwig" assault, is given without alteration. Griswold's own memoir affirms and amplifies the "Ludwig" piece.

In his review[5] of the 1850 edition, Poe's old enemy Lewis Gaylord Clark declared that Poe's intellectual character could now be considered "without any of those disadvantages which his personal conduct constantly presented as barriers to the appreciation of his genius." Clark was willing to grant to Poe's work "an enduring and not unenviable fame." E. A. Duyckinck in the *Literary World*[6] insisted that "Poe is an object of considerable, or more than considerable, size." In the *Southern Literary Messenger,*[7] J. M. Daniel was enthusiastic in his praise of Poe's writings. George R. Graham spoke out strongly in behalf of Poe the man.[8] G. W. Peck, in the *American Whig Review,*[9] was very much disturbed by "so harsh an opinion" as Griswold had expressed; Peck argued that Poe should be measured as an artist, and declared that "we see not but that he writes like a gentleman." *Sartain's Union Magazine*[10] approved Willis's picture of Poe's character. The New York *Tribune* in its notice[11] of "all that remains to us of a man, whose uncommon genius it would be folly to deny, and which alone justifies our protracted consideration of his brilliant errors as a literary artist," charged Poe with "no earnestness of character, no sincerity of conviction, no faith in human excellence, no devotion to high purpose —not even the desire to produce a consummate work of art." John Neal[12] attempted to explain that Poe's spirit, innately noble, had been transformed by his own "wilfulness" and by cruel circumstances. E. A. Duyckinck, in reviewing[13] the third volume, attacked Griswold's opinions as "about as dishonest as they well could be," and demanded that Griswold explain the numerous omissions in Poe's works.[14] Griswold's memoir was accepted by J. Savage in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review,*[15] but he argued that Poe should now be judged solely on his literary merit.

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[1] The present study begins approximately where the late Professor Killis Campbell ended his "Contemporary Opinion of Poe," *The Mind of Poe and Other Studies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933). In order to give a full picture of the period considered it has been necessary in the first paragraphs to refer sometimes to material Professor Campbell used, and to material considered in much greater detail by Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn in *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1941), pp. 642-695.

[2] See *The Literati* (New York, 1850), Griswold's preface, p. v.

[3] *The Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe* . . . (2 vols., New York, 1850). The third volume, *The Literati*, to which Griswold's memoir was prefixed, appeared a few months later.

[4] For a discussion of Griswold's part in these changes, see Quinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 658-660. It is also to be taken into account that Lowell's feeling toward Poe had changed since 1845 (see H. E. Scudder, *James Russell Lowell*, I, 162-167; letter to C. F. Briggs, Aug. 21, 1845, *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, I, 99-102; Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 455).

[5] *Knickerbocker*, XXXV, 163-164 (Feb., 1850).

An English attitude shortly after Poe's death was expressed in a review[16] of *Tales of Mystery, Imagination and Humour,* a selection of Poe's stories published by Vizetelly:

> . . . the closest investigation . . . will only lead us to wonder and regret that so much intellectual power may coëxist with so much moral weakness.

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[6] VI, 81 (Jan. 26, 1850).

[7] XVI, 172-187 (March, 1850).

[8] Letter to N. P. Willis, Feb. 2, 1850, printed in *Graham's,* XXXVI, 224-226 (March, 1850).

[9] V, 301-315 (March, 1850).

[10] VI, 311-312 (April, 1850).

[11] Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age,* XXV, 77-78 (April, 1850).

[12] Portland *Daily Advertiser,* April 26, 1850.

[13] *Literary World,* VII, 228-229 (Sept. 21, 1850).

[14] Cf. Campbell, "The Poe-Griswold Controversy," *op. cit.,* pp. 93-98.

[15] XXVII, 542-544 (Dec., 1850); XXVIII, 66-69 (Jan., 1851), 162-172 (Feb., 1851).

[16] *Tait's Magazine,* N.S. XXII, 33 ff.; reprinted in *Eclectic Magazine,* XXVI, 115-119 (May, 1852), and in *Littell's Living Age,* XXXIII, 422-424 (May, 1852).

> . . . we yet venture to say that a half-dozen such poems as "The Raven" would have placed Edgar Poe in the foremost ranks of modern poetry. We hope to be forgiven if we have spoken too harshly of a dead man.

In the decade after Poe's death, the legend that for many years was to be for most people the reality established itself. Griswold's part in the making of this image had been a major one; Poe himself had had no small share in the creation; and from the days of Poe's life much gossip must have survived to be elaborated and fused into the tradition. It is to be gathered that interest was, first, in the synthetic personality, and, second, and to a considerable extent as a result of the first attraction, in the prose and verse.

The last sentence of what appears to be an imaginary story in the *National Magazine* for October, 1852,[17] of a young genius entirely wrecked by bad habits informs the reader that this is not fiction but the life history of Edgar Allan Poe. "Never, we believe, was genius allied to vice in its grosser forms more apparent than in the career of Edgar Poe," an anonymous English critic wrote in *Chambers' Journal*.[18] George Gilfillan began an essay[19] in this fashion: "Poets, as a tribe have been rather a worthless, wicked set of people; and certainly Edgar Poe, instead of being an exception, was probably *the* most worthless and wicked of all his fraternity." The *Southern Literary Messenger* deleted, charging "much injustice," the biographical portion of Gilfillan's essay, but admitted that "little, unhappily, can be said in defense of the dead poet." Although Gilfillan praised Poe's power and analytic ability and the "peculiar music" of his poetry, it was elsewhere that he placed his emphasis:

> We must now close our sketch of Poe; and we do so with feelings of wonder, pity, and awful sorrow, tempted to look up to Heaven, and to cry, "Lord, why didst thou make this man in vain?"
>
> . . . and we cannot but say, ere we close, peace even to the well-nigh putrid dust of Edgar A. Poe.

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[17] I, 362-365.

[18] XIX, 137 ff. (Feb. 23, 1853); reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, XXXVII, 157-161 (April, 1853).

[19] Reprinted from the *London Critic* in *Littell's Living Age*, XLI, 166-171 (April, 1854), *Southern Literary Messenger*, XX, 249-253 (April, 1854), and in *A Third Gallery of Portraits* (New York, 1855), pp. 325-338.

In the *North American Review's* discussion[20] of a second printing in 1856 of Griswold's edition, "two brief, but exquisitely beautiful poems, 'The Raven' and 'Annabel Lee,'" were selected as the productions for which Poe would be remembered, and several of the tales were held equal in merit to any of the poems; but the reviewer's conclusion was that "rather than remember all, we would choose to forget all that he has ever written."

A writer in the *Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art* for March, 1857,[21] pointed out that if the United States could not be proud of Poe "it is only because the strange moral obliquity of the man has steeled the hearts of his countrymen against that pride." A. K. H. Boyd in *Fraser's Magazine*,[22] although praising Poe's poems and tales, took his cue from Griswold: "And we carry with us from the contemplation of the entire subject, the sad recollection of a powerful intellect, a most vivid imagination, an utterly evil heart, and a career of guilt, misery, and despair."

The *Edinburgh Review* in April, 1858,[23] predicted a considerable life for Poe's works if they came to the reader "unaccompanied by the narrative of his personal exploits":

> Edgar Allan Poe was incontestably one of the most worthless persons of whom we have any record in the world of letters. . . . He was, as we have said, a blackguard of undeniable mark. . . the biography of Poe has satisfied us that the lowest abyss of moral imbecility and disrepute was never attained until he came and stood forth a warning to the times to come.

In the decade following Poe's death, his character was not without defenders. George R. Graham continued to take his former employee's part,[24] pointing out that Poe had been attacked because he was "a critic as well as a poet and a genius." James W. Davidson defended Poe warmly,[25] offering as final proof of his splendid character the fact that he was highly admired by the women who knew him. W. Moy Thomas in the *Train*,[26] a London periodical, in

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[20] LXXXIII, 427-455 (Oct., 1856).

[21] N.S. II, 103-109.

[22] LV, 684 ff.; reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, LIV, 150-164 (July, 1857), and in *Critical Essays of a Country Parson* (London, 1867).

[23] CVII, 215-227; reprinted in *Eclectic Magazine*, XLIX, 338 ff., and in *Littell's Living Age*, LVII, 803-816 (June, 1858).

[24] *Graham's Magazine*, XLIV, 216-225 (Feb., 1854).

[25] *Russell's Magazine*, II, 161-173 (Nov., 1857).

[26] III, 193-198. Ingram, *Eclectic*, XX, 203-210 (Aug., 1874), implied that Thomas

April, 1857, made the first outright attack in England on the Griswold portrait. Thomas did not deny Poe's faults, but he insisted that Griswold, motivated by personal feelings, emphasized the poet's failings and refrained from stressing his many good traits. In 1860 Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman in *Edgar Poe and His Critics* contended that the "acknowledged calumnies . . . still going the rounds of foreign periodicals and . . . still being republished at home" had originated in resentment over Poe's reviews and the *Literati* sketches. Mrs. Whitman admitted that "the peculiarities of Edgar Poe's organization and temperament doubtless exposed him to peculiar infirmities." L. A. Wilmer, graciously forgetting a grudge which he might have held against Poe,[27] also insisted[28] that the attacks had been instigated by those whom Poe criticized severely or who were jealous of him, but who feared to speak out until the caustic pen could no longer reply to their assaults.

Griswold made it plain in *The Poets and Poetry of America*[29] for 1860 that a decade of controversy had not changed his opinions:

> In a memoir [in Griswold's edition of Poe's works] . . . I have endeavored to present, with as much kindly reserve in regard to his life as was consistent with justice, a view of his intellectual and moral character. Unquestionably the man was a genius, and those who are familiar with his melancholy history will not doubt that his genius was in a singular degree wasted or misapplied.

The death of the poet, the publication of his complete works, and Griswold's widely circulated remarks had been productive of much comment. There was nothing comparable in the 1860's to provide a stimulus for public and critical interest—and, of course, concern with the Civil War may have left in many minds little room for Poe.[30]

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was the first in England to express suspicion of Griswold. J. W. Gostwick, *Handbook of American Literature* (London, 1856), had questioned the fairness of Griswold.

[27] See Hervey Allen, *Israfel* (New York, 1934), p. 456.

[28] *Our Press Gang* (Philadelphia, 1860), pp. 284-285.

[29] Philadelphia, 1860.

[30] There were a number of articles written by people who had known Poe: Mrs. Oakes Smith, *Beadle's Monthly* (Feb., 1867); J. E. Snodgrass, *Beadle's Monthly* (March, 1867); T. W. Gibson, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXXV, 754-756 (Nov., 1867); Mayne Reid, *Onward* (April, 1869); R. H. Stoddard, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XLV, 557-568 (Sept., 1872). Eugene Benson compared Poe and Hawthorne, *Galaxy*, VI, 742-748 (Dec., 1868). *Eureka* was discussed by W. H. Browne, *New Eclectic Magazine*, V, 190-199 (Aug., 1869), and S. P. Cutler, *New Eclectic Magazine*, V, 533-538 (Nov., 1869).

A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors Living and Deceased[31] offered in 1870 complimentary critical comments, but it reflected the Griswold attitude in a biography climaxed by the conclusion that "this is but a sad story" —as indeed it is. John S. Hart in his textbook[32] acknowledged that Poe "was endowed with poetical gifts of the rarest and most wonderful kind," but pointed out that "had he united with these gifts high moral principle, and a power of will and of persistent labor . . . he might have made for himself a name above that of any yet known to American letters."

Swinburne, writing of America, declared in 1872: "Once as yet, and once only, has there been sounded out of it all one pure note of original song— . . . the short exquisite music, subtle and simple and somber and sweet of Edgar Poe."[33]

It is not to be implied that the critics[34] during the twenty-five years following Poe's death were niggardly in their praise of certain of his works; sometimes they were indiscriminately lavish. "The Raven" received the most comment among the poems, with "The Bells," "The Haunted Palace," and "Annabel Lee" also in high favor. "To Helen" was almost universally neglected. The commentators placed great stress upon the powers of analysis and imagination displayed in the stories; frequently the morbid nature of some of the tales was emphasized by those seeking a reflection in his writings of Poe's evil character. Poe's work as a critic was held, for one reason or another, to be of little consequence. But the striking characteristic of nearly all of this discussion was the inability of the authors to consider artistic matters without passing judgment also upon the personal failings which, largely through the initial instruction of Griswold, Poe was believed to have possessed.

The name of the Englishman John H. Ingram, who devoted himself with unflagging zeal to Edgar Allan Poe, is as important in the second phase of Poe's reputation as is Griswold's in the first. If to any single man belongs the credit for the rescue of Poe from the baneful influence of Griswold, that honor is Ingram's. It should be remembered also that the French admiration for Poe[35] directed the attention of English and American critics and readers to the writer.

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[31] Edited by Samuel A. Allibone (Philadelphia, 1870), p. 1614.

[32] *A Manual of American Literature* (Philadelphia, 1873), pp. 140-141.

[33] *Under the Microscope* (London, 1872), pp. 54-55.

[34] In the discussions already referred to and in many others omitted because of lack of space.

Ingram's first major contribution was the collected works of Poe with a ninety-page biographical preface, published in 1874 and 1875.[36] He had already attacked Griswold in *Temple Bar* for June, 1874,[37] claiming that "until the present moment Dr. Griswold's 'Memoir' of Edgar Poe has been accepted almost unquestioned in Europe; in America its correctness has been frequently and authoritatively impugned." Many of Ingram's own data have since been found to be erroneous; but at least he was a sympathetic biographer, and his method was more or less scientific.

In some quarters Ingram's rebuttal of Griswold was accepted, Richard Holt Hutton, for example, declaring[38] that "though Edgar Poe is one of the greatest masters of the gruesome who ever lived, there seems to be no reason in that at all for making any kind of assumption as to his character," and William Hand Browne praising[39] Ingram's memoir because "conscientious pains have been taken to ascertain the facts of his life as distinguished from the fictions about it, and to form a true estimate of the character of this remarkable man." On the other hand, the *Nation*[40] commented that Ingram's account of Poe "whitewashes him so completely that his American friends would hardly know him," and Robert Louis Stevenson affirmed in the *Academy*[41] that "we can detect alike in these [Poe's works], in his portrait, and in the facts of his life as now most favorably told, a certain jarring note, a taint of something or the other that we do not care to dwell upon or find a name for."

In 1875 Francis Gerry Fairfield published in *Scribner's Monthly*[42] "A Mad Man of Letters," in which he attempted to prove that Poe was the victim of "cerebral epilepsy" and that "the majority of his later tales are based upon the hallucination incident to that malady."

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[35] See C. P. Cambiaire, *The Influence of Poe in France* (New York, 1927).

[36] *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (4 vols., Edinburgh, 1874-1875).

[37] XLI, 375 ff.; reprinted in *Eclectic Magazine*, XX, 203-210 (Aug., 1874).

[38] *Criticism on Contemporary Thought and Thinkers* (London, 1894), p. 61; the review first appeared in the *Spectator*.

[39] *Southern Magazine*, XVI, 640-650 (June, 1875).

[40] XX, 209 (March 25, 1875).

[41] N.S. VII, 1-2 (Jan. 2, 1875).

[42] X, 690-699 (Oct., 1875). Mrs. Whitman answered Fairfield in the New York *Tribune*, Oct. 13, 1875.

Of Richard Henry Stoddard's preface to his edition of Poe's poetry[43] in 1875, the *British Quarterly Review* remarked[44] that the memoir was by a "gentleman of New York, who denounces Griswold, and then proceeds simply to surpass him in his own line, raking together such a mass of irrelevant gossip as we never read before."

In the year in which Ingram made his first considerable attack on the old legends there was published in London *Sorrow and Songs: Studies of Literary Struggle,* by Henry Curwen, in which over sixty pages were given to the old version of Poe's life, with his alleged drunkenness receiving the greatest emphasis.[45]

On November 17, 1875, after a long campaign for funds and much deliberation over a suitable marker, a monument was finally dedicated over Poe's grave in Baltimore. Whittier wrote to those in charge that "the extraordinary genius of Edgar A. Poe is now acknowledged the world over. . . ."[46] Holmes in his letter referred to "the stone inscribed with one of the few names which will outlive the graven record meant to perpetuate its remembrance." "I have long been acquainted with Poe's works," Tennyson wrote, "and am an admirer of them." Swinburne expressed the "conviction that, widely as the fame of Poe has already spread, and deeply as it is already rooted in Europe, it is even now growing wider and striking deeper as time advances." There is no record that William Cullen Bryant had changed the attitude which he had expressed ten years earlier when the campaign for funds was beginning:

> I am very unwilling to do anything that may seem disobliging, yet I cannot comply with the request. . . . My difficulty arises from the personal character of Edgar A. Poe, of which I have in my time heard too much to be able to join in paying special honor to his memory.[47]

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[43] *Poems by Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1875).

[44] According to Ingram, *Edgar Allan Poe* (London, 1880), II, 294.

[45] Another volume of this kind in which Poe is among those held up as horrible examples is *Wrecked Lives or Men Who Have Failed* (New York, 1880).

[46] The letters inspired by this occasion are printed in *A Memorial Volume* (Baltimore, 1877). Some months earlier Swinburne wrote Ingram that he had just received a "photograph of the singularly horrible monument" (*Letters of A. C. Swinburne,* New York, 1919, I, 137).

[47] To Sara Sigourney Rice, Nov. 6, 1865, printed in the Baltimore *Sun,* Jan. 17, 1909.

John H. Ingram, as the months passed, was busy publishing in his role of Poe advocate and authority.[48] In "poetic fury" and "a mere potency, disassociated from qualities of beauty and truth," George P. Lathrop[49] placed Poe in the first rank of American authors; but Poe lacked a concern with humanity, his "brain had a rift of ruin in it at the start," and "except, perhaps, three poems, 'The Raven,' 'Ligeia,' and the earlier of the two addressed 'To Helen,' his work is honeycombed with error and falsity, bad taste, undue outlay of language for small returns." Theodore Watts-Dunton, discussing[50] the sources of some of Poe's works, remarked that "any one who should from this infer that Poe's genius was not one of the most original that has ever expressed itself in our literature would be a poor psychologist indeed." In the same year in a Catholic textbook,[51] the Reverend Oliver Louis Jenkins wrote of Poe that "no American author perhaps has left so enduring a name to posterity."

E. L. Didier's memoir prefixed to his edition of the poems[52] is a reminder that Poe's advocates also might be guilty of exaggeration. Didier declared that as a critic Poe's "taste was fastidious—faultless; his judgment unerring; his decision final"; he stated that "The Raven" "stands alone in poetry, as the Venus in sculpture and the Transfiguration in painting."

Henry James, in 1878, digressing briefly in his essay on Charles Baudelaire,[53] offered perhaps the best-known comment on Poe made during these years, with his assertion that "an enthusiasm for Poe is the mark of a decidedly primitive stage of reflection." James also stated that "it seems to us that to take him with more than a certain degree of seriousness is to lack seriousness one's self."

Walt Whitman remarked[54] that although he wished in poetry

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[48] See *Southern Magazine*, XVII, 588-594 (Nov., 1875); *Athenaeum*, no. 2516, 89 (Jan. 15, 1876), no. 2544, 145-146 (July 29, 1876), no. 2547, 241-242 (Aug. 19, 1876), no. 2606, 426-427 (Oct. 6, 1877).

[49] *Scribner's Monthly*, XI, 799-808 (April, 1876).

[50] *Athenaeum*, no. 2549, 306 (Sept. 2, 1876).

[51] *The Student's Handbook of British and American Literature* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 434.

[52] New York, 1877.

[53] *French Poets and Novelists* (London, 1878), p. 60. In his life of Hawthorne (New York, 1880), pp. 62-63, James praised the "sense," "discrimination," and "happy insight" in Poe's criticisms, but declared that they were also "pretentious, spiteful, vulgar," pedantic, and provincial.

[54] Quoted from the Washington *Star*, Nov. 16, 1875, in "Specimen Days," Jan. 1, 1880, *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman* (New York, 1902), IV, 286.

"the strength and power of health" and "the background of the eternal moralities," he recognized that "Poe's genius has yet conquered a special recognition for itself," and that he had "come fully to admit it and appreciate it and him." Whitman also stated that

> Poe's verses illustrate an intense faculty for technical and abstract beauty, with the rhyming art to excess, an incorrigible propensity toward nocturnal themes, a demoniac undertone behind every page—and, by final judgment, probably belong among the electric lights of imaginative literature, brilliant and dazzling, but with no heat.[55]

Elsewhere Whitman declared: "I was repaid in Poe's prose by the idea that (at any rate for our occasion, our day) there can be no such thing as a long poem. The same thought had been haunting my mind before, but Poe's argument, though short, work'd the sum and proved it to me."[56]

In *Scribner's Monthly* for May, 1880,[57] Edmund Clarence Stedman selected "The Haunted Palace" and "Israfel" as Poe's best poems "and sufficient in themselves to preserve the memory of a lyrist." He thought, however, that Poe's tales are better than his verse, and "the tales in which lyrics are introduced . . . the choicest products of his genius." Much can be said for Poe's criticisms, Stedman felt, but he also found in them frequently "dishonesty, vulgarity, prejudice." Stedman asserted also that Poe was in character, even when all circumstances are considered, "terribly blamable," and that "my own pity for him . . . is that which we ever must feel for one in whom the rarest possibilities were blighted by an inherent *lack of will.*"

In early July, 1880, John H. Ingram's long advertised and awaited biography[58] appeared. In reviewing the work, the *Athenaeum*[59] admitted that there was some necessity for a biography which was "a vindication as much as a memoir," but regretted that Ingram's attempt was "less a rehabilitation than an apotheosis." The New York *Times* remarked[60] that only a few of Poe's works were known widely, and "yet there is no American author of whom so much has been written as of Poe, and perhaps the reason lies as much in the wide fame of these few works, as in the sad, romantic, and entangled story of the author's clouded life." The New York *Herald*[61] described Poe's place in American literature as "a remarkable rather than an important one." Thomas Wentworth Higginson[62] insisted that the new materials offered by Ingram emphasized the validity of Griswold's picture of Poe. *Harper's* editor expressed in "The Easy Chair" his bewilderment about Poe's standing: "His position is bizarre and doubtful, and probably few critics would concede that he will take a place as an American classic. Yet the tenacious interest in the man and in his work indicates an attraction which belongs only to abiding genius."[63]

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[55] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

[56] "A Backward Glance o'er Travell'd Roads," Whitman, *op. cit.*, IV, 56.

[57] XX, 107-124; reprinted in *Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1881).

[58] *Edgar Allan Poe: His Life, Letters and Opinions* (London, 1880).

[59] No. 2752, 107-109 (July 24, 1880).

[60] Oct. 24, 1880.

Poe's English reputation would always rest mainly upon his poems, G. B. Smith asserted in 1881;[64] Smith himself felt that some of the tales are "no whit below these in original and graphic power." Andrew Lang[65] held that "the viler charges and insinuations of Griswold may be refuted, but no skill can make Poe seem an amiable or an ascetic human being." Lang stated that Poe's poems "teach nothing, they mean little; their melody may be triumphantly explained as the result of a metrical trick. . . . The trick was one that only Poe could play." B. M. Ranking, in *Time Monthly Magazine,*[66] joined those who predicted that Poe's future fame would depend much more on the prose than on the poems. Ranking also declared that "nine out of ten" who spoke authoritatively of Poe's works knew only "'The Raven,' 'Annabel Lee,' 'The Bells,' and perhaps 'Ulalume,' and 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue,' and some half-a-dozen others of the more popular tales."

Richard Henry Stoddard in the preface to his edition of Poe's works,[67] described Poe the poet as "a gifted creature with a morbid personality." He praised highly Poe's work in the short story, but of the criticism he wrote: "It was the fashion while Poe was living to call him a critic, a delusion which could never have obtained in any country where the principles of criticism had been studied, and the practice of criticism cultivated."

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[61] Oct. 25, 1880.

[62] *Nation,* XXXI, 360-361 (Nov. 18, 1880).

[63] LXI, 787 (Oct., 1880).

[64] *Tinsley's Magazine,* XXVIII, 15-32 (Jan., 1881).

[65] In the introduction to *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (London, 1882).

[66] Pp. 352-360 (Sept., 1883).

[67] 6 vols., London and New York, 1884.

George Edward Woodberry's life of Poe[68] was, despite certain apparent deficiencies,[69] the most important single contribution in the Poe field during the nineteenth century. Woodberry held that the ratiocinative tales are on a much lower level than the romantic stories.[70] "Ligeia" is "an exquisitely conceived work . . . within its own laws as faultless as humanity can fashion."[71] Poe "did not write a dozen poems of the best rank," Woodberry averred;[72] he added, however, that "when the utmost has been said adversely, the power of these dozen poems is undiminished. . . ." The biographer pointed out numerous weaknesses in the equipment of the critic, but he declared: "Of the excellence of Poe's criticism in itself, however, there can be no question."[73]

Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in his review of Woodberry's volume, declared:

> Neither Mr. Griswold, the prosecuting officer, nor Mr. Ingram, of counsel for defense, nor Mr. Woodberry, who sums up in a judicial fashion, really presents anything which modifies the reputation as to truth or morality acquired by Poe during his life-time; and a very poor reputation that was.[74]

In the *Atlantic Monthly's* review it was asserted that

> the defect of his poetry was the defect of his criticism. In each case a great endowment had been so encrusted with artificiality that there was little chance for healthy truth to find its way through. The occasional hours when Poe saw clearly, and was lifted by his imagination out of the miserable net in which he had involved himself, were luminous, and the poems which he then wrote, the criticism which he offered, were of exceeding value.[75]

In the next few years there seems to have been a steady but not notable interest in Poe.[76] H. R. Haweis in the preface to *Tales of*

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[68] Boston and New York, 1885.

[69] Woodberry's lack of sympathy has often been stressed; that his biography would have been much greater had he placed more emphasis upon the artist and his work can be strongly argued.

[70] *Edgar Allan Poe*, pp. 150-151.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[74] *Nation*, XL, 157 (Feb. 19, 1885).

[75] LV, 706-707 (May, 1885).

[76] Ingram was still busy; he brought out a second edition of the *Life and Letters*, and was connected with three editions of Poe's poetry. A number of other publications and magazine articles can be named. In 1884, first appeared in print Lanier's oft-quoted remark: "The trouble with Poe was that he did not know enough. He needed to know a good many more things in order to be a great poet" (*Poems of Sidney Lanier*, New

Mystery and Imagination[77] insisted that Poe "remains the most gifted poet that America has yet produced." In *Letters to Dead Authors*[78] Andrew Lang called Poe "the greatest poet, perhaps the greatest literary genius" of America, and remarked that "your English readers, better acquainted with your poems and romances than with your criticisms, have long wondered at the indefatigable hatred which pursues your memory." Henry A. Beers in the discussion in his textbook[79] offered this evaluation of Poe: "The defect of Poe was in character. . . . If he had had the sweet home feeling of Longfellow or the moral fervor of Whittier he might have been a greater poet than either." G. T. Bettany in 1890[80] "fearlessly" claimed for Poe as a short-story writer "originality, ingenuity, invention, imagination, power over the emotions, graphic characterization, analytic and constructive skill."

In a poll sponsored by the *Critic*[81] in 1893 to determine the ten books which were "the greatest yet produced in America," first place was given to Emerson's essays and second place to *The Scarlet Letter.* Nothing by Poe is found among the thirty-nine works which received more than twenty votes. Nor is Poe's name included in a supplementary list of writers "whose various works received in all twenty votes or more." Edmund Gosse was quick to express in a letter to the *Critic* his astonishment at the neglect of "the most perfect, the most original, the most exquisite of the American poets." The omission, Gosse wrote, is "extraordinary and sinister."

> If I were an American, I should be inclined to call it disastrous. While every year sheds more luster on the genius of Poe among the weighty critical authorities of England, of France, of Germany, of Italy, in his own country prejudice is still so rampant that he fails to secure a paltry twenty votes.

John Burroughs replied to Gosse in the *Dial* for October 16, 1893:[82]

> I would not undervalue Poe. He was a unique genius. But I would account for his failure to deeply impress his own countrymen, outside of

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York, 1884, pp. xxv-xxvi). W. H. Ward in the preface to this edition of Lanier's poems states that Lanier "esteemed Poe more than his countrymen are wont to do."

[77] London, 1886.

[78] London, 1886, p. 129.

[79] *An Outline Sketch of American Literature* (New York, 1887), pp. 214-219.

[80] In the preface to *Tales of Adventure, Mystery and Imagination* (London, 1890).

[81] The results were published in the *Critic,* XXII, 357 (June, 1893).

[82] XV, 214-215.

the professional literary guild. His fund of love and sympathy was small. He was not broadly related to his fellows, as were Longfellow, Whittier and Whitman.

Poe was presented in 1893 to students in the "Schools and Colleges" by Julian Hawthorne and Leonard Lemmon[83] in these terms:

> Had he possessed a nature commensurate with his intellect, he would have been one of the greatest of the human race. Being what he was, his career was a conflict and a suicide; yet he achieved things that can never be forgotten, and his genius had neither precedent nor successor.

Barrett Wendell, commenting on Poe in 1893,[84] described his reaction thus:

> As one knows him better, one does not love him more. In another way, though, one grows to care for him, or at least to pity him. For with all his falsity, with all his impudence and sham, the man is a man by himself. . . . If it is something to have added a new note to literature, then we Americans must respect the memory of Poe.

"It is understood that Edgar Allen [*sic*] Poe is still unforgiven in New England," Edmund Gosse observed in his remarks on Poe in 1893.[85]

George E. Woodberry in 1894 declared[86] of Griswold's memoir that "very little of its substance has ever been invalidated" and that "it is also fair to Griswold to add that the characterization he gave is that which has uniformly prevailed in tradition in the best informed literary circles in this country." In the year of Woodberry's defense of Griswold's picture, Mildred Cabell Watkins[87] was introducing school children to Poe in this fashion: "Most original of all our writers; of wonderful imagination; has a strange charm not easy to explain. A sad, bad life ending in a hospital where he died of delirium tremens."

Evidence of the demand in the middle nineties for Poe's writings is afforded by the publication of three editions of the complete works.[88] In the *Dial* review[89] of the Stedman-Woodberry edition,

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[83] *American Literature. A Text-Book. For the Use of Schools and Colleges* (Boston, 1893), pp. 58-62.

[84] *Stelligeri and Other Essays* (New York, 1893), pp. 138-140.

[85] *Questions at Issue* (New York, 1893), pp. 88-90.

[86] *Century Magazine,* N.S. XXVI, 572, 573 (Aug., 1894).

[87] *American Literature,* "Literature Primers" series (New York, 1894).

[88] *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe,* ed. E. C. Stedman and G. E. Woodberry (10 vols., Chicago, 1894-1895); *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe,* ed. R. H. Stoddard (6 vols., New York, 1895); and *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (8 vols., London and Philadelphia, 1896).

[89] XVIII, 138-141 (March 1, 1895).

D. L. Maulsby observed that it had been Poe's singular fortune "to be praised with distinction in some quarters abroad, while receiving generally but a qualified welcome at home," and that "the present publication is testimony that Poe's hold upon men is unweakened." In the *Atlantic Monthly's* review[90] it was contended that the failure to appraise fairly Poe's writings was to be charged to "the extraordinary confusion of the man with his work—of the ethical with the purely literary aspect—which is so characteristic of the literary judgments in this country."[91]

In 1899 Charles Leonard Moore declared "that to a great extent he [Poe] is ignored and repudiated is unquestionable."[92] John L. Hervey[93] immediately called attention to "the innumerable editions of his poems and tales" and to the fact that in a recent poll to determine the ten best American short stories two of Poe's tales had been given places. Moore's position was supported, however, by A. C. Barrows,[94] who observed that "it is vain to expect our people, for the present, at least, to overlook the absence of moral motive and consequent realism," and by Caroline Sheldon[95] who remarked "that the great poet . . . must voice in some effective manner the feelings and thoughts common to humanity. This Poe does not do." In a second article,[96] Moore asserted that "although I assumed in my article printed in the *Dial* some time since that there was a widespread prejudice against Poe, I am surprised at the extent of it."

That Moore's impressions were perhaps incorrectly founded seems apparent from the tributes paid to Poe, on the fiftieth anniversary of his death, in connection with the unveiling at the University of Virginia of Zolnay's bust of the writer.[97] Stedman expressed his regret at his inability to be present to honor "your great Southern poet, critic, and romancer." John Hay called Poe "one of the greatest men of letters." Burroughs asserted in his letter that Poe "had a purer and higher art than any other writer of his time in our country." Frank R. Stockton declared that "no man has appeared who is worthy to stand beside him in his chosen field of literature." In the principal address[98] Hamilton Wright Mabie declared: "Poe's work holds a first place in our literature, not by reason of its mass, its reality, its range, its spiritual or ethical significance, but by reason of its complete and beautiful individuality, the distinction of its form and workmanship, the purity of its art."

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[90] LXXVII, 551-554 (April, 1896).

[91] Cf. Henry S. Pancoast, *An Introduction to American Literature* (New York, 1898), p. 274: ". . . we are forced to conclude that the limitations of Poe's own nature, the painful inadequacy of the man himself, have left ineffaceable marks upon the quality and character of his work," and Katherine Lee Bates, *American Literature* (New York, 1897), pp. 293-299: "though his life was wild and sad, wildness and sadness were to him fairer than sobriety and joy, and he transformed his sorrows and his forwardness into a literature which, not wholesome, not heroic, and not noble, has withal a unique magic."

[92] *Dial,* XXVI, 40 (Jan. 16, 1899).

[93] *Dial,* XXVI, 73 (Feb. 1, 1899).

[94] *Dial,* XXVI, 109-110 (Feb. 16, 1899).

[95] *Dial,* XXVI, 110-111 (Feb. 16, 1899).

[96] *Dial,* XXVI, 236-237 (April 1, 1899).

[97] The exercises are described in the *University of Virginia Alumni Bulletin,* VI, 65-74 (Nov., 1899). There were many expressions from other writers and critics in the vein of those quoted.

That in 1901 Poe "is generally known as the author of 'The Raven,'" was the conclusion of E. W. Bowen, writing on "Poe Fifty Years After."[99] Of the tales, "only about a third deserve to live," Bowen stated, but "they have already won for their author, abroad as well as at home, a fame which, perhaps, no other American has excelled." "'The Murders in the Rue Morgue,'" Brander Matthews wrote in *The Philosophy of the Short Story*,[100] "is indeed a story of the most marvelous skill: it was the first of its kind, and to this day it remains a model, not only unsurpassed, but unapproachable." "Poe had a faculty," Matthews declared, "which one may call imaginative ratiocination to a degree beyond all other writers of fiction."

The appearance, in the fall of 1902 under the editorship of James A. Harrison, of the edition of Poe's works[101] that has remained until the present the standard printing was hailed by the *Outlook's* reviewer as "an event of importance because it presents the text of one of the foremost American writers with a precision and in an order which no earlier editors, however thorough and intelligent, have been able to command."[102] The general reaction to the edition can be summed up in the words of the *Nation's* critic: "At last Poe has come into his own. His text was long the most neglected in our native literature; it is now, if not the best, certainly the most edited of all."[103]

Poe did not win a place in New York University's Hall of Fame in the first election in 1900 nor in the second ballot in 1905. "Press discussion of the new election is widespread," *Current Literature* in December, 1905,[104] remarked in preface to a summary of the controversy, "and centers for the most part in the exclusion of Poe." Poe, Holmes, Cooper, and Bryant had not been voted the right to memorials in the colonnade. Chancellor MacCracken of New York University attempted to explain Poe's exclusion in making public the list of those chosen:

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[98] Printed in the *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXIV, 733-745 (Dec., 1899).

[99] *Forum*, XXXI, 501-510 (June, 1901).

[100] New York, 1901, pp. 45-46.

[101] *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, "Virginia Edition" (New York). 17 vols.

[102] LXXII, 581 (Nov. 8, 1902).

[103] LXXV, 445 (Dec. 4, 1902).

> Judged by Milton's criterion, that poetry should be simple, sensuous, and passionate, Poe's poetry has the first two qualities, but is lacking in the third . . . it does not suggest the wide range of feelings, nor does it give one the impression that Poe felt any emotion very deeply.

The San Francisco *Argonaut* remarked that "it seems odd to find Poe excluded when Lowell and Whittier are enrolled in the Hall of Fame." The St. Louis *Mirror* declared that "Poe is our greatest artist of the imagination, as Hawthorne is our greatest genius. Both are universal in their appeal and beyond the power of any committee, however parochial, to place or rank them." The Columbia (South Carolina) *State* found an indication of "the venom of sectional prejudice." The New York *Tribune* pointed out that eminent New Englanders had been omitted also. The London *Spectator* observed that "the preference of Whittier to Poe is remarkable, if literary genius is to be taken as a test of merit. It seems to indicate that character is regarded as an indispensable passport to the Hall of Fame. . . ." E. C. Stedman, who had been one of the judges, expressed his amazement at the exclusion of Poe, "concerning whose place in imaginative literature the world at large has not the slightest doubt."

Various opinions of Poe are to be found in representative textbooks published in the first years of the twentieth century. C. F. Johnson[105] concluded that the "peculiar mark of Poe is unevenness or incompleteness." Louise Manly[106] thought that his best stories are highly artistic in finish and powerful in theme, but "often of such a nature as to make one shudder and avoid them." Poe now "begins to seem quite as important as any of his contemporaries,"

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[104] XXXIX, 613-614. The quotations which follow, except Stedman's statement from the *North American Review,* CLXXXV, 801 (Aug. 16, 1907), are from the *Current Literature* account.

[105] *Outline History of English and American Literature* (New York, 1900), pp. 483-485.

[106] *Southern Literature* (Richmond, 1900), pp. 276-279.

Barrett Wendell observed.[107] "The charm of the language," "the fascination of vivid scenes," and "the magic touch . . . which removes all these scenes into the uncharted realm of the supernatural," were named as the most impressive qualities of Poe's tales by Alphonso G. Newcomer,[108] who declared also that Poe "possessed the two fundamental attributes of a poet, melody and imagination, in a supreme degree." Poe's fame as a poet, "based upon hardly more than a dozen lyrics, has advanced steadily since his death, in spite of hostile and contemptuous criticism," Julian W. Abernathy asserted;[109] the stories in many respects are as excellent as Hawthorne's, but they lack "the moral and spiritual qualities that enrich Hawthorne's tales." For readers who wished "to get far out of the highways of literature into the land which lies next to the unseen and unknown . . . ," Lorenzo Sears[110] recommended that "this gloomy, way-ward, but second-sighted spirit will be the most satisfactory guide." S. A. Link in a favorable study[111] emphasized an important point usually overlooked: that Poe was "truly a man of letters. No other pursuit ever engaged his serious attention." Franklin V. N. Painter,[112] although willing to grant Poe many accomplishments, argued that he had largely wasted his genius because he was deficient in the "moral element." William P. Trent stated that the safest conclusion in regard to Poe's standing was

> to admit that in view of his primacy on the Continent of Europe, his influence upon modern literature, his perfection as an artist in his two roles, and his steadily increasing fame, he is the American writer that means most to the civilized world of today, and that probably has the best chance of maintaining, if not of increasing, his hold upon posterity.[113]

In the preface to *American Literary Criticism*,[114] W. M. Payne insisted that Poe's stature as a critic would make his name an important one in our national literature if he had never written a line of verse or fiction: he was the first American critic, and "as a pronouncer of judgments he bears the most searching of tests." William James Dawson,[115] in 1905, declared that Poe's stories "have survived the test of time and are probably more widely known and read than at any time since their production."

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[107] *A Literary History of America* (New York, 1900), p. 206.

[108] *American Literature* (Chicago, 1901), pp. 112-127.

[109] *American Literature* (New York, 1902), pp. 316-321.

[110] *American Literature in the Colonial and National Periods* (Boston, 1902), p. 260.

[111] *Pioneers of Southern Literature* (Nashville and Dallas, 1903), II, 288-331.

[112] *Poets of the South* (New York, 1903), pp. 29-47.

[113] *A History of American Literature* (New York, 1903), p. 383.

[114] New York, 1904, pp. 14-17.

Significant of one important new direction in Poe interest was the first doctoral dissertation to be written on Poe—or if not the first, the first to win a place in Poe bibliography—Palmer Cobb's *The Influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann on the Tales of Edgar Allan Poe,* published at Chapel Hill in 1908.[116]

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1908, in an article on "The Fame of Poe," John Macy expressed the hope that in Poe's centennial year "the trivialities of his life may recede, and the supreme triumph of his art stand forth unvexed and serene."[117] It is certainly not overstatement to say that Macy's hopes and those of many others who desired a saner and more soundly appreciative approach to Poe were realized during 1909. From the presses of England and America, beginning with the earliest January numbers of the periodicals and lasting literally until the final day of December there came appraisals of the artist and the man. The discussions are impressive merely in number; they are impressive because it seems that the better magazines vied with each other in honoring the dead artist; they are impressive because among their authors were the recognized literary spokesmen of the two countries. Poe was honored not only in print but by celebrations here and abroad.

Poe's "fame is growing with each year until his works have been rendered into almost every foreign language, including Swedish and Bohemian," wrote Morris Bacheller in the January issue of *Munsey's Magazine*.[118] "A great, a wonderful, a morbid genius," was the description given by George L. Knapp.[119] That Poe's own people had not yet given him his due, was the opinion expressed by F. C. Owlett in the *Bibliophile* of London,[120] but he "is steadily coming into his own and Time is his sure ally."

W. C. Brownell's discussion in the January *Scribner's*[121] was a provocative piece of criticism, although it might be contended that the author failed surprisingly in his comprehension of Poe. Brownell's conclusion was that "the cult of Poe is not in the interests of literature, since as literature his writings are essentially valueless" and that "there is a particular irrationality in American over-praise of Poe."

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[115] *The Makers of English Fiction* (New York, 1905), pp. 298-301.

[116] Gustav Gruener's papers in *PMLA*, XIX, 1-25, and in *Modern Philology*, II, 125-140, in 1904 may be remarked as the first scholarly investigations of specific problems in the Poe field.

[117] CII, 843.

[118] CL, 448-451.

[119] *Lippincott's*, LXXXIII, 81 (Jan., 1909).

[120] II, 231-234 (Jan., 1909).

[121] XLV, 69-84 (Jan., 1909).

William Dean Howells[122] also took exception to the general high acclaim. He granted Poe "great talent," but nothing more. In the various fields of Poe's literary endeavor, Howells placed ahead of him Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, and Irving. Howells continued:

> I find that Poe's method is always mechanical, his material is mostly unimportant. . . . With his poetry it seems to me no easier matter. Can a man continue a remembrance by virtue of pieces of two pieces, and by the entirety of one piece? Whether I think he can or not, it appears that Poe does live with the wise in these as he lives with the unwise in his inferior pieces.

Mark Twain expressed his views in a letter to Howells:

> Your Poe article delighted me. . . . I am in agreement with substantially all you say about his literature. To me his prose is unreadable. You grant that God and circumstances sinned against Poe, but you also grant he sinned against himself—a thing he couldn't do and didn't do.[123]

In discussing "Edgar Allan Poe from an English Point of View," Norman Douglas[124] called attention to "Poe, the American," whose contributions had not been adequately appreciated in his native land: "how he encouraged American writers of every stamp, coaxed them, drove them, pushed them the way they should go"; his influence "not as a direct model . . . but in a general way for the principles of truth and honesty laid down by him . . . so thoroughly assimilated by the national literary mind that it forgets whence it drew them." Poe's "work shares with that of Hawthorne the supreme honors of American literature," asserted Lewis Melville.[125] He found that Poe's detective stories were the most popular of the author's productions, although "it is in his verse that Poe is seen at his greatest."

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[122] *Harper's Weekly*, LIII, 12-13 (Jan. 16, 1909).

[123] *Mark Twain's Letters* (New York, 1917), II, 830.

[124] *Putnam's Monthly and the Reader*, V, 432-438 (Jan., 1909).

[125] *Nineteenth Century and After*, LXV, 140-152 (Jan., 1909).

George Bernard Shaw, in commenting on Poe,[126] expressed amazement that Poe had lived in America, but concluded: "Alas! he did not live there; he died there and was duly explained away as a drunkard and a failure. . . ." Shaw offered this summary of Poe's achievements:

> He was the greatest journalistic critic of his time. . . . His poetry is so exquisitely refined that posterity will refuse to believe it belongs to the same civilization as the glory of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's lilies or the honest doggerel of Whittier. . . . In his stories of mystery and imagination Poe created a world-record for the English language; perhaps for all languages. . . . There is really nothing to be said about it; we others simply take off our hats and let Mr. Poe go first.

Shaw named as Poe's limitations his aloofness from the common people and the unreality of his characters and places.

On January 19 the celebration of Poe's centennial reached its climax, although throughout the rest of the year the tide of tributes and discussions abated little.[127] "The observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Edgar Allan Poe on Tuesday of last week assumed the proportions of a national celebration," wrote the editor of the *Outlook*, in discussing the ceremonies;[128] "and the presence of large audiences evidences the interest in the extraordinary career and genius of the poet, whose life and work have probably been more widely discussed and have evoked greater differences of opinion than the life and work of any other American man of letters." In Boston, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Bliss Perry, and Judge Robert Grant had the most prominent parts in the celebration sponsored by the Authors Club. At Columbia University's ceremony, Thomas Nelson Page declared that Poe is the greatest figure in American literature, and Brander Matthews asserted that "no American man of letters has been the subject of so many biographies and the object of so many critical essays both at home and abroad." A bust of Poe was unveiled in Poe Park opposite the Fordham cottage. At New York University,[129] Edwin

[126] *Nation* (London), IV, 601-602 (Jan. 16, 1909).

[127] A long list of publications in January alone could be appended.

[128] XCI, 227-229 (Jan. 30, 1909). Descriptions of celebrations, unless otherwise indicated, are from this account.

[129] The dedication of the bust and the New York University exercises are described in *Transactions of the Bronx Society of Arts and Sciences*, I, Part II. Mabie's address is reprinted in the *Alumni Bulletin of the University of Virginia*, II, 288-302 (July, 1909).

Markham read "Our Israfel," and Henry Noble MacCracken, Hamilton W. Mabie, and George E. Woodberry were the principal speakers, the latter declaring that "no American name in literature is, I think, so warmly cherished." J. P. Poe and William P. Trent had the principal places on the program at Johns Hopkins.[130]

The elaborate commemoration[131] at the University of Virginia lasted for three days. Tributes to the University's famous son came from numbers of illustrious individuals who were unable to be present for the exercises. Barrett Wendell, invited from New England to deliver the principal address at the evening ceremonies on January 19, took as his subject "The Nationalism of Poe." "We can gladly join together, as fellow-countrymen," Wendell declared, "in celebrating the memory of one recognized everywhere as the fellow-countryman of us all. For everywhere is no hyperbolic word to describe the extent of Poe's constantly extending fame.... You may dispute as long and as fruitlessly as you please concerning its [Poe's writing's] positive significance or the magnitude of its greatness. The one thing which you cannot do—the thing for which the moment is forever past—is to neglect it."

The London celebration took the form of a dinner given on March 1, with Whitelaw Reid and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle as the principal speakers.[132]

The newspapers,[133] with long accounts of the celebrations and with special articles and sections devoted to Poe, afford also striking evidence of the interest of the English-speaking nations in the poet on the anniversary of his birth. The *Daily Mail* of Birmingham, England, commented on January 19·

> The American nation of to-day honour Poe as, on the whole—with one possible exception—their greatest achievement in letters. We, an

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[130] The Baltimore exercises are described in *Edgar Allan Poe: A Century Tribute* (Baltimore, 1910). Trent's address was reprinted as "The Centenary of Poe" in *Longfellow and Other Essays* (New York, 1910).

[131] *The Book of the Poe Centenary* . . . (Charlottesville, 1909). Among the many noteworthy utterances on the various programs were Dr. William A. Barr's sermon, Dr. Herbert M. Nash's reminiscences of Poe, Dr. Alcée Fortier's discussion of Poe in France, Dr. Georg Edward's address on Poe in Germany, Dr. James Southall Wilson's poem, "Whose Heartstrings Are a Lute," President E. A. Alderman's "Poe at the University," and Dr. C. Alphonso Smith's "The Americanism of Poe."

[132] An account of the dinner is given in the London *Times*, March 2, 1909.

[133] See, for example, the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Jan. 17, 1909, the Boston *Herald*, Jan. 17, 1909, the Richmond *Times Dispatch*, Jan. 17, 1909, the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, Jan. 18, 1909, and the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Jan. 17, 1909.

older people, with one of the most glorious literatures, and especially poetic literatures, in the history of the world, endorse their judgment, but we do more than this—we offer tribute to one of the great artists of the English language.

The story of Poe's literary reputation is a fitting complement to the artist's life. Poe, with his keen sense of publicity and of what insures popular and lasting recognition, would have been quite satisfied with the course of his fame in England and America from 1850 to 1909.

FITZ-JAMES O'BRIEN IN IRELAND AND ENGLAND, 1828-1851

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ALTHOUGH Fitz-James O'Brien has long been recognized as one of the first imitators of Poe in the field of the short story and as the writer who to the weird and supernatural gave a setting definitely localized in time and place, and although he was much written about as the most colorful figure in New York's literary Bohemia of the 1850's, pouring into the magazines more than one hundred and sixty-four poems, stories, and essays, nevertheless our information about his life and writings has been almost entirely confined to the facts collected by William Winter and published in 1881 in his volume *The Poems and Stories of Fitz-James O'Brien*. In this book besides his own "Sketch" of O'Brien's life Winter included "Recollections" by five of O'Brien's friends. These articles give a picture of O'Brien's life and character during his ten years in America which is fair and accurate as far as it goes. Nothing except the vaguest of rumors is reported about his life in Ireland and England. All succeeding biographical accounts have of necessity been based on this volume. Even the introduction of Gilbert Seldes to a new collection of the stories in 1932 adds only one new fact, and although Fred Lewis Pattee devotes thirteen pages to him in *The Feminine Fifties* (1940), he says that his life "before his arrival in America must at present, and perhaps finally, be rated as legendary."[1] He then repeats the erroneous statement that he was born in Limerick. Arthur Hobson Quinn, too, in *American Fiction* (1936) says that O'Brien's "stories seem to have begun with his residence in New York."[2] To correct such recurring mistakes, to find out the facts still remaining available, and to reduce the rumored and legendary, for which O'Brien was himself largely responsible, to a series of authenticated biographical data, the writer of this article spent four months in the fall of 1929 in Ireland and

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[1] Fred Lewis Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties* (New York and London, 1940), p. 292.

[2] Arthur Hobson Quinn, *American Fiction: An Historical and Critical Survey* (New York and London, 1936), p. 96.

England. He traveled first through the most beautiful parts of southwestern Ireland—especially the counties of Cork and Limerick—tracing the family of Fitz-James O'Brien, visiting the estates on which the immediate members of it had lived, and becoming more intimately acquainted with the backgrounds among which the youth grew up. Then followed a couple of weeks in Dublin checking records at the various government offices and going through all the periodicals in the National Library. After that London and the British Museum occupied many more weeks. As a result Fitz-James was found to have contributed to newspapers and magazines of his native land from the age of seventeen, to have gone to London when he was twenty-one, and by the time he left for America two years later to have appeared in print with thirty-five poems, with one story running serially through nine numbers of a London magazine, and with twelve miscellaneous articles besides short squibs—altogether sixty-eight times.

I. IN IRELAND

Michael Fitz-James O'Brien[3] was born sometime between April and December 31, 1828, in Cork,[4] either at the home of his parents in the city or at the country seat of his maternal grandparents at Baltimore House in the southwestern part of the county. The only child of James O'Brien, Esq., one of the county coroners, and of Eliza, his beautiful young wife, he was named Michael in honor of both his grandfathers, and Fitz-James, meaning son of James, in honor of his father. The Michael he seems never to have used.

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[3] O'Brien's middle name occurs in four different forms—Fitzjames, FitzJames, Fitz-James, Fitz James. The first form—as one word with a small j—appears in print three times (in Ireland and England) and is the form used in a letter from his mother. The second form—as one word, but with a capital J—is the way in which it would seem to be necessary to interpret one of the signatures (most often the signature is merely "F.J.") and is the form preferred for names of this type according to good Irish practice of the present time. During O'Brien's life in America the name was printed either with the hyphen or as two separate words, an equal number of times each way. The present general acceptance of the hyphenated form is due to its use by William Winter in his volume of 1881, *The Poems and Stories of Fitz-James O'Brien;* and this usage is confirmed by the fact that it is the form in which, with only three exceptions, the name appeared in magazines of Ireland and England. Thus, established usage and the young author's own sanction when he was in a position to have his name printed as he wished it are both in favor of the hyphen, and that form is here retained.

[4] The exact date and place of his birth are unknown. The inscription on his coffin-plate was, "Died April 6, 1862, Aged 33 years." Winter says he was born in county Limerick, his impression probably arising from the fact that O'Brien's later boyhood was spent in that county.

About his father's family little is known. His paternal grandfather owned Brownstown, a farm of some 246 acres lying on the coast about five miles south of Clonakilty, county Cork; and Brownstown House, which with its farm buildings stood almost in the midst of the not-too-fertile fields, served as the home of the resident farmer.[5] Michael's wife was Catherine Deasy, and their son James was born in 1780.[6] In 1796 upon arriving at the age of sixteen, James was entered at the King's Inn, Dublin, as a solicitor's apprentice, the affidavit being made by his maternal uncle Richard Deasy, of Clonakilty.[7] By 1810 he was established in the South Mall as an attorney,[8] by 1820 he was voting on the governmental or winning side in an election,[9] and by 1823 he was one of the four county coroners.[10] To obtain the office of coroner he must have had an established position as an attorney and have been an owner of property with means sufficient to carry out the duties of the office with dignity. He lived at 58 South Mall, the most respectable street in the city, and seems to have had his attorney's office in the same building.[11]

After obtaining the office of coroner, James O'Brien married Eliza O'Driscoll, who was some twenty years younger than himself, being then only eighteen or twenty. Eliza was the daughter, the only living child, of Michael and Helena O'Driscoll of Baltimore House, Baltimore.[12]

Baltimore is a small fishing village almost on the southwestern point of Ireland, and was before the time of Queen Elizabeth a flourishing port ruled over by the chief of the clan O'Driscoll, whose castle stronghold, Toberanargid, commanded the town and harbor. The castle was in ruins, however, long before the time of Michael O'Driscoll, though the title of "The O'Driscoll" by which he was generally known shows that he was regarded as a descendant of the old chief and as head of the ancient clan. On his mother's side "The O'Driscoll" traced his descent from the O'Gradys of Kilballyowen, one of the most ancient families of county Limerick.

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[5] See *Guy's Topographical Directory of County Cork* (Cork, 1888), p. 5. The population of Brownstown in 1881 was 39, and the valuation £184 15*s*.

[6] These facts about his father's family should correct the interesting stories which were circulated after Fitz-James became prominent in America, connecting him with William Smith O'Brien, the Irish patriot, and with the O'Briens who belonged to the Irish aristocracy—Lord Fermoy and Baron Inchiquin, Marquis of Thomond.

[7] Copy from Admission Paper in King's Inn, Dublin, supplied through the kindness of Thomas U. Sadleir, Registrar, Office of Arms, The Castle, Dublin.

[8] See Will West, *A Directory, and Picture, of Cork and its Environs* (Cork, 1810), p. 93.

[9] See pamphlet, *City of Cork Election,* for 1820, pp. 122 and 128. James O'Brien appears similarly in *Lists of the Freemen and Freeholders Alphabetically arranged, who voted at the Cork Election, December 1826*, p. 96.

[10] See *The Cork Almanack, 1823;* quoted in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, II, 201 (Oct., 1893). He is still listed as coroner in *Connor's Cork Directory for the year 1830*, p. 18.

[11] See *Connor's Cork Directory for the year 1830*, pp. 18, 19, and 103.

[12] Michael and Helena had four children—one son, Denis, and three daughters, Helena, Eliza, and Jane. Denis and Jane died at comparatively early ages, and Helena died a spinster in 1826. See MS *Index to Prerogative Wills, 1811-1858*, in Public Record Office of Ireland, Dublin.

Michael's wife Helena did not have to change her name when she married, since her father was Timothy O'Driscoll of Lakeland. Lakeland is one of the most attractive of the many estates lying along the River Lee below Cork, and is situated some three miles out of the city on the banks of Lough Mahon, as the widening of the river at that place is called. Timothy O'Driscoll was a justice of the peace as was his son, Helena's brother Alexander, who had a seat at Cloverhill about halfway between Lakeland and the city; and after Michael had married Helena and had come into possession of her considerable dowry, he too became a justice. He was swept out of this distinction, however, along with other Roman Catholics in the county, by the staunchly Protestant chancellor, Lord Manners, when he was appointed to the office in 1807.[13]

Michael's father, Denis, lived southwest of Cork, at a manor called Creagh Court, about halfway between Skibbereen and the coast; and it was probably by means of his wife's money that Michael O'Driscoll was able to establish himself at Baltimore House.

When Michael O'Driscoll died in 1830,[14] he had no male heir other than his infant grandson O'Brien, to whom he left his property, including Baltimore House and perhaps a smaller cottage some three miles away across the hills, on the shores of Lough Hyne. By this salt-water lake of the south coast, with the beauty of its enclosing hills and castle-crowned Bally Island rising from its midst, it is certain that Fitz-James spent many of his childhood days; and so deep an impression did it make on the sensitive boy that, before he left his native land, he described it in two poems, while a little later he made it the setting for his first short story.

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[13] For confirmation of the above details and a further account of the genealogy of the O'Driscolls, see *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, ed. John O'Donovan (Dublin, 1849), pp. 397-398.

[14] See entry *Index to Prerogative Wills, 1811-1858, loc. cit.* The fact that his will was proved in the Prerogative Court shows that the testator had been a person of considerable property. The will itself was destroyed in the burning of the Four Courts in 1922.

When Fitz-James was about twelve years old his father died. Although James O'Brien at the time of his death, in 1839 or 1840, was close upon sixty, his wife Eliza was certainly under forty, and probably not over thirty-five. This remarkably beautiful widow after a proper interval, though while Fitz-James was still a lad, married DeCourcy O'Grady, a friend and neighbor whom she must have known since childhood; for O'Grady's father, also DeCourcy O'Grady, lived at a beautiful country seat, Carrigmahon, on the narrower part of the Lee estuary about four miles below Lakeland, the home of Eliza's grandfather, Timothy O'Driscoll.

After the marriage O'Grady leased the property of Cloon, conveniently situated at the edge of the village of Castleconnell, county Limerick; and here on the banks of the Shannon at its most beautiful point he established himself with his wife and stepson. In the immediate vicinity were five large estates owned by members of the O'Grady family, all of whom were more or less closely related to DeCourcy; even Eliza, his wife, many generations back came from the same stock, the O'Gradys of Kilballyowen.[15]

By the Rapids of Doonass, then, where the Shannon sweeps in a wide curve of roaring and foaming white water, Fitz-James lived from about his fifteenth year until he came of age. He adopted part of his stepfather's name, calling himself Fitz-James DeCourcy O'Brien,[16] and shared with the boys and the young men of the neighboring O'Grady families the outdoor life of the place—the typical sporting life of the Irish gentleman. Besides the riding, hunting, and shooting usual in all parts of Ireland, the swimming, boating, and fishing made possible by the Shannon must have occupied many hours; and to these activities Fitz-James added a particular interest in birds.[17]

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[15] See Sir Bernard Burke, C.B., LL.D., *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Ireland* (London, 1912), pp. 530-531.

[16] It was by this name that Dr. Collins and Dr. R. Shelton Mackenzie knew him in England and by this name that he signed himself in a letter he wrote to Thomas Bailey Aldrich some years after the beginning of their friendship in America. Aldrich, in writing of it to William Winter, says: "It is the only instance I know of his signing himself 'Fitz-James *de Courcy* O'Brien.' You know he was 'Baron Inchiquin,' or something of the sort. I used to call him Baron Linchpin, when we were merry." (T. B. Aldrich to William Winter, Oct. 20, 1880; quoted in Winter, *Old Friends*, 1909, pp. 101-102).

The carefree life of a well-to-do youth living among fine estates along a beautiful river was sharply broken in two, however, by the first of the great Irish famines, which occurred in 1845. The terrible poverty, dire distress, death, and starvation which the famine conditions added to the already burdensome political oppression sent families by the thousands crowding into the western ports seeking passage to America. The stricken wretchedness was worst in the counties of Cork, Clare, and Limerick, and the towns of Limerick and Skibbereen lost about twenty thousand inhabitants each by emigration. The sixteen-year-old Fitz-James, sensitive and high-spirited, was closely surrounded by the destitution at its worst: Castleconnell is not far from Limerick, and Baltimore House is in the immediate vicinity of what became known as "the charnel-house of Skibbereen."[18] The youth, much stirred, sent a stanza of twenty-two lines to the *Nation,* a Dublin weekly newspaper dedicated to the cause of Irish patriotism and edited by Charles Gavan Duffy. Entitled "Oh! Give a Desert Life to Me," it expressed the desire to get away from "England's scorn" and live "Amongst Columbia's free born race" until Old Erin is once more free. Duffy printed it over O'Brien's full name on March 15, 1845, but introduced it with the line, "This might be called 'The Coward's Resource,'" and at the end recommended the author "*not* to come again when the work is over."[19]

Undeterred by the editor's rebuke, Fitz-James continued to send contributions to the *Nation,* with signature omitted, however. Two weeks later appeared a trivial stanza containing a touch of gallantry and blarney, "Epigram on hearing a Young Lady Regret her Eyes being Bloodshot,"[20] which was signed T.J. O'B. After repolishing this he reprinted it twice in the next six years.[21]

A far more pretentious poem was printed anonymously on July

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[17] To this side of his life O'Brien refers in a rambling essay, "Bird Gossip," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* XI, 824 (Nov., 1855).

[18] See the *Advocate: or, Irish Industrial Journal* (Dublin), Dec. 16, 1848, quoting the *Cork Examiner;* and the *Dublin University Magazine,* XL, 122 (July, 1852).

[19] *Nation* (Dublin), March 15, 1845.

[20] *Ibid.,* March 29, 1845.

[21] "Impromptu to a Lady, on her Complaining at Breakfast that her Eyes were Bloodshot," *Cork Magazine,* I, 663 (Sept., 1848); and "Impromptu On Hearing a Young Lady Complain that her Eyes were Bloodshot," *Parlour Magazine,* I, 215 (June 21, 1851).

26, 1845—"Loch Ina. A Beautiful Salt-water Lake in the County of Cork, near Baltimore."[22] It describes the romantically picturesque features of his own childhood surroundings on his grandfather O'Driscoll's land. When I went to Skibbereen, I found that the simple verses were still being learned by heart by all the school children there and that they were universally known throughout the surrounding country, even as far as Cork. Almost anyone, young or old, was able to recite them to me. But the identity of the author was unknown, and great was the delight of the inhabitants upon learning that the composer of the lines which so satisfied their local pride had been a boy of their own neighborhood.

About two months later, adopting the patriotic pseudonym, "Heremon," Fitz-James began sending to the *Nation* political verses which the editors considered highly unpatriotic. On October 4 they declined "Heremon's" "Irish Hurra for Past Heroism"; but the irrepressible author continued to submit it until, more than a month later, they were driven by his effrontery to remark, "whatever Heremon may think to the contrary, we actually do read contributions before we reject them, and we have already declined this piece under as many aliases as belong to a London swell-mob man."[23] The following week (November 15) they objected to his plea on behalf of Henry de Loundres, the rather high-handed archbishop of Dublin under King John, for a niche in the English House of Parliament, saying, "He has no claims at all upon the veneration of Irishmen."[24] But "Heremon" was undeterred; and on February 7, 1846, the editors' comment is, "Declined. —. . . 'Heremon' (he is a dangerous fellow; does he forget that amidst the wreck of our national institutions, there is a Queen's Bench left us still?)."[25]

On the other hand "The Famine,"[26] in which he appeals to the rich and powerful to relieve the shocking conditions surrounding them, wins editorial favor; as does "The Boatmen of Kerry,"[27] in which he makes use of native material to describe the mass celebrated yearly upon the sea by the Kerry fishermen. "Excelsior,"[28] the last of O'Brien's contributions to the *Nation,* which did not appear until a year later, is in form a well-handled Shakespearean sonnet, but in story and spirit is an exact duplicate of Longfellow's poem of like name (1841).

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[22] *Nation*, July 26, 1845. Reprinted in the *Family Friend*, IV, 197 (April 1, 1851); and in *The Ballads of Ireland*, collected and edited by Edward Hayes (2 vols., London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, 1855), I, 21-22. The name is variously spelled—on the Irish Ordnance Survey maps it is always Lough Hyne; in the *Nation* it is Loch Ina; in another poem of his own, three years later, it is Lough Ine; in Hayes it is Ine in the text and Ina in the contents and index, and in a story in *Bolster's Quarterly Magazine* (Cork), I, 319 (Nov., 1826), it is written Loch Ein.

[23] *Nation*, Nov. 8, 1845. See also *ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1845.

[24] *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1845.

[25] *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1846.

[26] *Ibid.*, March 7, 1846.

Now come three years in O'Brien's life, from the end of his seventeenth year to the beginning of his twentieth, during which his whereabouts and occupation are unknown. Most of those who have written letters or newspaper articles about him have accepted his own statement that, being expected to become a lawyer like his father, he was educated at Trinity College, Dublin; and on the strength of this assertion he was in 1857 initiated into an American college fraternity.[29] The books at Trinity College, however, bear no record of his name; and army lists fail to support the rumor that he had had a military career.[30] That Fitz-James was reading widely in all sorts of literature and that he acquired great proficiency in French is certain.[31] The most likely explanation for these years is that he was receiving such an education as was deemed fitting for a young gentleman, probably spending much of the time in Paris with his parents or a tutor, and at intervals touring on the Continent.[32] Certainly he must have been out of

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[27] *Ibid.,* March 14, 1846.

[28] *Ibid.,* March 13, 1847. These last three poems are all signed "Heremon."

[29] See Frank Wood, *New York Leader,* April 12, 1862; editorial, same paper, same date; *Harper's Weekly,* VI, 267 (April 26, 1862); William H. Merriam, eulogy in New York *Daily Times,* June 21, 1862; Winter, *op. cit.* (1881), p. xv; and T. B. Aldrich, Oct. 20, 1880, in Winter, *Old Friends,* p. 101. For initiation into Theta Delta Chi, see the *Shield,* XIV, 418 (Dec., 1898).

[30] Stephen Fiske to William Winter, Oct. 8, 1880, in Winter, *op. cit.* (1881), p. liv: "He was an admirable swordsman, and had served in the English army, although he was always reticent as to his history. I have seen several instances of his skill with the pistol." So far as known, the only reference to his military service earlier than Fiske's is a one-word hint in the editorial column of the New York *Leader* for April 12, 1862. The statement there is that it was "the intention of his family to prepare him for the bar; but his fondness for literature and arms thwarted the designs of his friends." Winter says simply that "it is remembered that he claimed to have been at one time a soldier in the British service" (Winter, *op. cit.,* 1881, p. xv), a claim which Stoddard discredits in these words: "That he was ever in the British army, as he claimed to have been, may be doubted" (New York *Tribune,* March 6, 1881).

[31] See Thomas E. Davis to William Winter, Oct. 22, 1880, in Winter, *op. cit.* (1881), p. xxiv.

[32] A letter from his mother of Oct. 25, 1861, describes a Continental tour as more or less habitual with the O'Gradys. See A. L. S. in the collection of Charles Romm.

Ireland most of the time, for the break with the *Nation* occurred sharply; and after his reappearance in the *Cork Magazine* for July, 1848, his connection with the journalistic world is practically continuous.

The *Cork Magazine,* which ran from November, 1847, to December, 1848, was planned as a distinctly literary journal, and to it O'Brien contributed ten poems in six issues. The first, "An Ode to the Divinest of Liquors,"[33] sings of champagne with joyful gusto, and is signed with his ancestor's name, Fineen Dhuv. The next month he used the old chieftain as the hero of a romantic ballad "Una of Lough-Ine,"[34] with the scene laid by the beloved lake about which Fitz-James had already written for the *Nation.* "My Childhood's Prayer,"[35] a delicate bit, much better done, also appeared in the August number. The September issue carried three poems—a short "Serenade," "Impromptu" repeated from the *Nation,* and a graceful, imaginative story about "The Loves and the Fate of the Dragon-Fly and the Water-Lily";[36] the October issue two more—"The Fisher's Lay" and "Where Shall We Dwell?";[37] and the November and December issues one each. "The Epicurean"[38] in November is the fourth of O'Brien's love poems, and the rhythm flows more easily than before, while "Forest Thoughts"[39] for December makes the reader wonder for the first time whether Fitz-James did not have in him the true poetic spark. Certainly for the moment he was regarding poetry as a serious, an almost sacred occupation.

A few months later "Heremon" sent some patriotic verses to the *Irishman,* of Dublin, and the editors printed them with the following introductory remarks: "'Heremon'—though young in years is not weak in rhythmic power. We like his movement; it is bold and free."[40] The poem, without title, begins, "Say sacred Clarseac—hallowed harp of old," and in the stanzas that follow deplores the sad state of Ireland and the fate of her patriotic poets, who are either in prison or driven into exile. On this despondent note the writing of Fitz-James O'Brien for the journals of his native island ceased.

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[33] *Cork Magazine,* I, 564-565 (July, 1848).

[34] *Ibid.,* I, 639-640 (Aug., 1848).

[35] *Ibid.,* I, 592.

[36] *Ibid.,* I, 653 (Sept., 1848), I, 663, and I, 681-683.

[37] *Ibid.,* I, 720 (Oct., 1848), and I, 741.

[38] *Ibid.,* II, 31 (Nov., 1848).

[39] *Ibid.,* II, 99-100 (Dec., 1848)

[40] *Irishman* (Dublin), Feb. 3, 1849.

II. IN ENGLAND

In 1849 Fitz-James O'Brien came of age, inherited whatever fortune was left him by his father and by his grandfather, and almost immediately left Ireland and went up to London. That Michael O'Driscoll left his only grandson a considerable estate is borne out by the fact that his will was proved in the Prerogative Court. If it amounted to anything like the £8,000 claimed by O'Brien himself,[41] he must have lived rather riotously and certainly extravagantly to have run through the money in two and a half years. He went into society in London and Bath, he attended the opera at Covent Garden and developed a discriminating appreciation for it, he surrounded himself "with elegancies and luxuries," and he learned how to order elaborate and expensive dinners.[42]

At the same time he retained his interest in writing, and only two months after his appearance in the *Irishman* of Dublin, "Forest Thoughts" was printed in the *Metropolitan Magazine* in London.[43] Even if this was a copied reprint, O'Brien's active participation in London journalism began with the July issue of the *Family Friend,* to which he sent such facetious and punning bits as entries in a definition contest. Altogether the magazine printed sixteen of these;[44] and R. Kemp Philp, the editor, soon got in touch with O'Brien and seems to have engaged him as a regular contributor. The *Family Friend* which had begun its career in January, 1849, soon became so popular that Philp changed its original monthly numbers to a fortnightly issue, and finally to a weekly one.[45] Except for two new poems, "Lines Addressed to a Young Lady about to Depart for India,"[46] which refers to the distressing state of Ireland, and "A Lyric of Life,"[47] all of O'Brien's original contributions to the *Family Friend* are in prose—brief essays inculcating morals and an occasional witty satire. "Philosophy in Disguise," "Family Conversation," "Home," and "On Ostentation"[48] are little homilies on the conduct of domestic life so self-conscious and lacking in humor that they were obviously done to order. With the next essay, however, Fitz-James became himself again and broke loose with an amusing tirade on "Babies!"[49] shooting satirical darts at parents who parade their spoiled and petted darlings for bachelor guests to admire. The article gave such offense that Philp had to print a lengthy, apologetic reply, and O'Brien sought to make amends by a tender essay called "Children. A Vindication."[50]

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[41] See obituary notices in the New York *Times,* April 10, 1862; in New York *Leader,* April 12, 1862; and in *Harper's Weekly,* VI, 267 (April 26, 1862). Aldrich states erroneously that the money ($40,000) came from his father—see Aldrich to Winter, Oct. 20, 1880, quoted in Winter, *Old Friends,* p. 101.

[42] See F. J. O'Brien to Dr Sir, Bath, A.L.S., in Simon Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; *Family Friend,* IV, Appendix, p. 9 (March 1, 1851); *Saturday Press,* Nov. 13, 1858; New York *Citizen,* Sept. 30, 1865; and New York *Tribune,* March 6, 1881.

[43] *Metropolitan Magazine,* LIV, 395-396 (April, 1849).

[44] *Family Friend,* I, 206, 207, and 208 (July, 1849); I, 248 and 249 (Sept., 1849); I, 315 and 316 (Nov., 1849); and II, 147 and 148 (March 1, 1850).

[45] For Philp's interesting career, see *D.N.B.,* XV, 1111-1112.

[46] *Family Friend,* III, 45 (July 15, 1850).

[47] *Ibid.,* I, 106 (Aug. 15, 1850). Reprints of two earlier poems are: "The Loves and

All of O'Brien's contributions to the *Family Friend* were short, and the writing of them could have interfered but little with the main business of enjoying life. He became intimately acquainted with Philp and his family and with their circle of friends, and of course he played the gallant with the ladies.[51] He also had his portrait painted.[52]

The year 1851 was that of the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, and of the three or four periodicals devoted to its interests one was gotten out by Houlston and Stoneman, printers of the *Family Friend.* It is, therefore, not surprising to find O'Brien represented in the first number of the new magazine, and it is almost certain that he was its editor.[53] It appeared in weekly numbers during the progress of the exhibition, from May 3 to December 20, and was printed on machines within the Crystal Palace as a part of a practical exhibit. It was called the *Parlour Magazine of the Literature of All Nations* and, besides containing translations from various literatures, it gave such information as made it a guide to the different sections of the palace exhibits. Even though its weekly numbers were small, the supplying of material and the preparation of copy must have kept Fitz-James pretty constantly occupied, and he helped fill its columns with a number of his own

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the Fate of the Dragon-Fly and the Water-Lily," III, 77 (Aug. 1, 1850), and "Loch Ina," IV, 197 (April 1, 1851).

[48] *Ibid.*, I, 294-295 (Nov., 1849); III, 131-134 (Sept. 1, 1850); III, 282-285 (Nov. 15, 1850); and IV, 9-11 (Jan. 1, 1851).

[49] *Ibid.*, IV, 73-75 (Feb. 1, 1851).

[50] *Ibid.*, IV, 170-174 (March 15, 1851).

[51] *Ibid.*, IV, Appendix, p. 9 (Feb. 15 or March 1, 1851).

[52] See his mother's letter, A. L. S., Romm collection.

[53] See Winter, *op. cit.* (1881), p. xvi.

contributions. To the opening issue he furnished an ode in five stanzas addressed "To a Captive Sea-Gull,"[54] and two weeks later contributed a short apologue in smooth, rhythmical prose, the superscription of which ran, "The Sunbeam, The Dew-Drop, and the Rose. From the Persian, by Fitz-James O'Brien."[55] After this the editor printed three of his earlier poems[56] and added "Our Old Garden Chair,"[57] a new one, which followed the popular trend by dwelling sentimentally on the peace and beauty that come to a husband and wife who have grown old together.

In addition to his editorial activities on the *Parlour Magazine* O'Brien supplied Kemp Philp with a story about a pet bullfinch, called "The Simple History of a Family Friend,"[58] an appropriate title for the initial item of the fifth volume of the *Family Friend.* Also the August, 1851, issue of the *Dublin University Magazine* contains a poem about Irish life which, though unsigned, is almost certainly O'Brien's. "The Wish; or, the Fall of the Star"[59] is one of the "choice selections" strung together on a slight thread of comment by Jonathan Freke Slingsby, who supplied articles of this kind as a regular feature of the magazine. The poem tells the story of how Dermot the peasant herder woos the scornful Norah, of how he wins her, and of how on wishing "on the fall of the star" he secures their domestic bliss. Slingsby's comment at the end is: "Brave; a very pretty piece of versification; it illustrates one of our native superstitions."[60]

In his next poem "The Lonely Oak,"[61] although it helped fill the pages of the *Parlour Magazine,* O'Brien is still thinking of his home and is patriotically regretting the deplorable changes that are taking place in the land of Erin. "Dawn.—A Sonnet" followed and was so well written that it deserved the honor of being printed a year and a half later with the author's full signature in the *Dublin University Magazine.*[62] Of the three other poems which can be

[54] *Parlour Magazine,* I, 23 (May 3, 1851).

[55] *Ibid.,* I, 94 (May 17, 1851).

[56] *Ibid.,* "Forest Thoughts," I, 95 (May 17, 1851); "An Ode to the Divinest of Liquors," I, 119 (May 24); and "Impromptu," I, 215 (June 21). See nn. 39, 33, and 20.

[57] *Ibid.,* I, 215 (June 21).

[58] *Family Friend,* V, 3-6 (July 1, 1851).

[59] *Dublin University Magazine,* XXXVIII, 140-141 (Aug., 1851).

[60] *Ibid.,* p. 141.

[61] *Parlour Magazine,* I, 287 (July 12, 1851).

[62] *Ibid.,* I, 359 (Aug. 2, 1851). Reprinted in the *Dublin University Magazine,* XLI, 299 (March, 1853).

definitely identified as O'Brien's, "To an Infant"[63] is an irritatingly careless performance, while "Hateful Spring,"[64] as "From the French of Berenger" is a thoroughly satisfactory rendering of that author's cleverly turned persiflage. With its second volume (September-December) the *Parlour Magazine* modified its policy to include only translations, and it was therefore as if "Translated from the original Irish of a Peasant Bard at Ballingarry" that the second Dermot-Norah poem, "Fortune in the Fire,"[65] was given space. Later with a new title, "Irish Castles," and an additional stanza the poem was included by Edward Hayes in *The Ballads of Ireland*.[66] It is highly possible that O'Brien was responsible for a number of the other translations in the *Parlour Magazine,* mainly those from the French, and that he was kept busy supplying material for the press which operated in full sight of the crowds that visited the Crystal Palace.

When the exhibition ended, the life of the popular little magazine ceased also, and its buyers and subscribers were recommended to patronize a new magazine, the *Home Companion,* as its successor. The *Home Companion,* another of the many ventures of R. Kemp Philp, was to be, as its subtitle states, "a Weekly Magazine of the Amusing and Useful." In anticipation of its early appearance Philp commissioned O'Brien to write him a story, with the result that beginning in the first number and continuing serially through nine of its weekly issues appeared "The Phantom Light: A Christmas Story. By Fitz-James O'Brien."[67] It is apparently O'Brien's earliest attempt at a full-length story, and as such has an importance far greater than that due it because of artistic accomplishment. The scene is that of his childhood, the shores of Lough Hyne, in the accurate description of which he hints at the romantic lore and supernatural stories which cluster about its landmarks. "It was a calm, a blessed place—that remote and lonely lake."[68] The best parts of the story are the incidents based on the mythmaking habits of the Irish peasantry, their superstitions and reports of miraculous occurrences; and when the peasant characters—Oonagh, the old nurse, Donal, the aged fisherman, the poet's son, and the stable boy—are allowed to speak for themselves, telling in their rich brogue and in half-fearful tones tales about fairies, omens, and unaccountable lights, the story takes on life.

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[63] *Parlour Magazine,* I, 431 (Aug. 23, 1851).

[64] *Ibid.,* I, 449 (Aug. 30, 1851).

[65] *Ibid.,* II, 69 (Sept. 20, 1851).

[66] Edward Hayes, *op. cit.,* II, 355-356.

[67] *Home Companion,* I, 5-6 (Jan. 3, 1852); 21-22 (Jan. 10); 37-39 (Jan. 17); 53-55 (Jan. 24); 68-70 (Jan. 31); 84-85 (Feb. 7); 101-102 (Feb. 14); 117-118 (Feb. 21); 131-133 (Feb. 28).

[68] *Ibid.,* I, 5 (Jan. 3, 1852).

The writing of "The Phantom Light" must have been undertaken by Fitz-James not later than the first of November; for although the first number of the *Home Companion* is dated as of January 3, 1852, it seems to have made its appearance almost a month earlier, and the material for it must have been in the printer's hands almost three weeks previous to that.[69] It was only by such an arrangement of an early issuing and late dating that O'Brien's story was timely; and the last installment, emphasizing the Christmas spirit of forgiveness, reconciliation, and good will, and describing Irish Christmas customs, was probably written shortly before the holiday itself. The number of the *Home Companion* in which it was printed is dated February 28, 1852; but before that day Fitz-James O'Brien had left England, had arrived in America, and had had at least one poem accepted and printed in the *Lantern,* a weekly periodical of New York City. Thus O'Brien's last writing before he crossed the ocean was a tribute to his native land and a sympathetic description of the customs and scenes of his own southwestern corner of it.

Afterwards he mentioned Ireland but seldom, and in only three instances made use of Irish settings: in "'Carrying Weight.' A Reminiscence of the Turf," in "Bird Gossip," and in "How a Prima Donna was Fledged."[70] And O'Brien's American friends have almost without exception testified to his extreme reticence in regard to his origin and his early life in his native land.

Reports connect O'Brien with two other London periodicals before he left for America. William Winter remarks that "it is said that . . . he also wrote for the Leisure Hour";[71] but this

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[69] See the *Parlour Magazine,* "Preface to the Second Volume," which is dated Dec. 20, 1851, and which refers to the *Home Companion* as having "within a few weeks, obtained the enormous circulation of *One Hundred Thousand Copies Weekly.*" See also the *Home Companion,* Preface to Volume I.

[70] *American Whig Review,* XVI, 269-272 (Sept., 1852); *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* XI, 820-825 (Nov., 1855); and "The Man About Town," in *Harper's Weekly,* I, 531 (Aug. 22, 1857).

[71] Winter, *op. cit.* (1881), p. vi.

"Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation," beginning publication at the same time as the *Home Companion,* contains nothing that can be identified definitely as O'Brien's, though many things that might be his. The other report is that O'Brien wrote for Dickens's *Household Words;*[72] but it has been my privilege to go through the original manuscript office-book of *Household Words* wherein are listed the names of the contributors and the sums paid to each,[73] and O'Brien's name is not there. For the year 1851, however, there are three anonymous contributions, any or all of which come easily within the range of O'Brien's capabilities. On November 8 a prose fantasy, under the title "An Arabian Night-Mare,"[74] tells jokingly of the frozen spirits of Eblis in a style that imitates the over-ornateness of Oriental phrasing; and "An Abiding Dream" of a week later[75] relates sentimentally in verse the story of a miller's boy who remains true to his early dream of love. The third piece, a poem of December 13 entitled "A Child's Prayer,"[76] I should like to assign definitely to O'Brien. It is the same in its subject matter and in its sweetly religious mood as the earlier "My Childhood's Prayer,"[77] and the reworking of previously successful ideas and styles was a common habit with Fitz-James. The typically O'Brien note, however, is the stanza about the robin's song. Here the bird "sang his evening hymn to God," and in three other poems his song thrillingly carries the listener to thoughts of the Divine.[78]

After such conjectured liberties I turn hastily to the last episode of O'Brien's life in England—a love affair which drove him from the country. That his heart was deeply involved there is no doubt—this is agreed upon by his American friends George Arnold, Stephen Fiske, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, and Richard Henry Stoddard, although their accounts vary in detail as to the course of the affair and its consequences. The main outlines as told by Aldrich and recorded by Mrs. James T. Fields are: O'Brien "began his career by running away with the wife of an English officer. The officer was in India, and Fitz-James and the guilty woman had fled to one of the seaports on the south of England in order to take passage for America, when the arrival of the woman's husband was announced to them and O'Brien fled. He concealed himself on board a ship bound for New York."[79]

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[72] See New York *Daily Times,* April 10, 1862, and *Round Table,* VIII, 365 (June 6, 1868).

[73] Made available through the courtesy of Elkin Matthews, Ltd., 33 Conduit Street, London, W. 1.

[74] *Household Words,* IV, 166-168 (Nov. 8, 1851).

[75] *Ibid.,* IV, 182-183 (Nov. 15, 1851).

[76] *Ibid.,* IV, 277 (Dec. 13, 1851).

[77] *Cork Magazine,* I, 592 (Aug., 1848).

[78] The robin's song is a feature of "Forest Thoughts," *Cork Magazine,* II, 99-100 (Dec., 1848)—reprinted in the *Metropolitan Magazine,* LIV, 395-396 (April, 1849), and repeated in the *Parlour Magazine,* I, 95 (May 17, 1851); of "Our Old Garden Chair," *Parlour Magazine,* I, 215 (June 21, 1851); of "A Storm," *New York Times,* July 19, 1853; and of "A Storm in Summer," *Harper's Weekly,* I, 419 (July 4, 1857). The robin is also referred to in "Bird Gossip," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* XI, 824 (Nov., 1855).

The relish of gossip is in this story; but the main point of the intrigue is thoroughly in keeping with the character of Fitz-James. That his reputation, however, had not suffered too much by a general circulation of the story is borne out by the following letter of R. Shelton Mackenzie, an editor and journalist of excellent standing:

> . . . Late in 1851 or early in 1852, Dr. Collins knowing that I had, for several years, been a correspondent of M. M. Noah's *Evening Star* and other New York papers, wrote to me begging that I would send him a letter or two of introduction for Mr. Fitz James De Courcy O'Brien, a young, talented, and well educated friend of his, who had got into pecuniary trouble, from living somewhat too fast, and had resolved to try his fortune, as a journalist, in the New World. It was not entirely *en regle* according to English habit, to introduce a gentleman whom I had never seen, but Dr. Collins' voucher was so sufficient for me that I sent letters to Major Noah, Geo. P. Morris, and two or three other New Yorkers, whom I knew through many years' correspondence.[80]

With the chance of such associations, then, Fitz-James O'Brien sailed, near the end of the year 1851, from English shores.

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[79] M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Memories of a Hostess: A Chronicle of Eminent Friendships Drawn Chiefly from the Diaries of Mrs. James T. Fields* (Boston, 1922), p. 227 (entry under date of Nov. 9, 1865). See also Winter, *op. cit.* (1881), pp. lii and lvii; and New York *Tribune*, March 6, 1881.

[80] R. Shelton Mackenzie to William Winter, Oct. 9, 1880 (MS in Romm collection).

WAS LOWELL AN HISTORICAL CRITIC?

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IF," WROTE James Russell Lowell in his essay on Milton, "Goethe was right in saying that every man was a citizen of his age as well as of his country, there can be no doubt that in order to understand the motives and conduct of the man we must first make ourselves intimate with the time in which he lived."[1] The observation is one of many such made in the course of Lowell's critical writings. And the neglect with which his remarks in this vein have been treated accounts, it seems to me, for the persistent and erroneous idea that Lowell was virtually unaware of the importance of historical perspective in formulating a critical judgment.

This charge of historical ignorance occurs in nearly every one of the indictments which have been drawn up against Lowell as a critic. Dr. Joseph J. Reilly, the author of the most extended commentary on his criticism, wrote:

> His *Chaucer,* his *Shakespeare,* his *Dryden,* and the rest leave the poets too far aloof from their times; or rather to Lowell their existence in literature and in history are things apart. . . . A knowledge of history would have given his critical essays a far greater value; they would have been more consecutive in tracing literary movements, more convincing and clear because showing the interactions of literary with historical changes; and finally more vital, because the author discussed would appear as a part of his age and not merely as a superman set against a nebulous background.[2]

In the nineteen-twenties hardly a year passed without someone's echoing this complaint as an article of the general condemnation of Lowell which was then fashionable. Mr. C. Hartley Grattan remarked in 1924:

> With literature, of course, history, to such a mind, had nothing to do, and Taine's *English Literature* would have been incomprehensible to him. Rather he inclined toward that peculiar perversion of Platonism which abstracts an author from his age and judges him *in vacuo.*[3]

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[1] *Works of James Russell Lowell* (Boston, 1890), IV, 61.

[2] *James Russell Lowell as a Critic* (New York, 1915), p. 69.

[3] "Lowell," *American Mercury,* II, 66 (May, 1924).

And two years later Professor Harry Hayden Clark was saying:

> Of the third method of literary criticism—the historical—Lowell shows hardly a trace. . . . The nearest Lowell came to the historical method is in the essay on Wordsworth, when he explains the local and parochial quality of his poetry by referring to "the solitude in which the greater part of his life was passed." Stressing ideas as he avowedly did, Lowell was more interested in the finished product than in explaining its origin.[4]

So, too, Professor V. L. Parrington:

> With all his reading, history remained a blank to him. . . . He had . . . no historical backgrounds, only isolated figures dwelling in a vacuum. . . . He scoffed at Taine instead of going to school to him, and made merry over Masson's *Life of Milton*.[5]

With whatever degree of gentleness or acerbity Lowell's critics have catalogued his shortcomings, nearly all have joined in picturing him as a man lacking the slightest comprehension of the function of history in criticism.

The one important dissenter from this view is Professor Foerster, who sets Lowell down very definitely as having found his standards not only in esthetic and didactic criticism, but in historical criticism as well.

> If [says Professor Foerster] he may be regarded as the forerunner of the impressionistic critics who today abound outside the universities, he may with better reason be viewed as the chief American ancestor of the historical critics and scholars who abound within the universities. . . . It remained for Lowell to state more clearly [than did Poe or Emerson] the nature of historical criticism, to exemplify it in studies of a series of great writers, and to demonstrate its value as a preparation for literary criticism in its highest form.[6]

And he proceeds to bulwark this somewhat heretical observation with quotations from Lowell, and to demonstrate Lowell's use of the historical approach by allusion to his criticism of eighteenth-century literature.

But a large number of students of American literature continue to hold Lowell in far lower esteem than does Professor Foerster; and so long as the record contains so many categorical denials to

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[4] "Lowell's Criticism of Romantic Literature," *PMLA*, XLI, 212 (March, 1926).

[5] *The Romantic Revolution in America* (New York, 1927), pp. 461 466.

[6] Norman Foerster, *American Criticism* (Boston, 1928), pp. 119-120.

Lowell of the name of historical critic, it is worth while to look into the matter once again, with a greater desire to do Lowell justice than seems to have actuated some of his critics.

The passages I shall quote from Lowell's essays in the pages that follow undoubtedly will impress the casual reader as being a series of commonplaces, of critical clichés. No one today would challenge the validity of the historical approach which Lowell defends. But we must not fall into the same error with which Lowell's critics tax him: we must not judge *his criticism* in a vacuum. And so it is necessary to remember that what are truisms to us were by no means truisms to Lowell. He wrote in a day before the development of the more or less "scientific" method in literary studies made it axiomatic that the critic must examine the milieu of a work as well as the work itself. Not all critics, but only one school of them, recognized the importance of historical perspective.

Thus, if we read Lowell's remarks on this topic with a full awareness of the condition of criticism in his era, rather than dismiss them as trite and somewhat vaporous, we shall be inclined to accept them as evidence that Lowell actually was abreast of, if not a little ahead of, his time. It was not every critic of his generation who was at liberty to declare, as he did in his essay on Fielding, that it had already "become an established principle of criticism that in judging a man we must take into account the age in which he lived, and which was as truly a part of him as he of it."[7] His own awareness of the influence of the *Zeitgeist* in artistic creation was derived, without doubt, chiefly from Goethe and the other German critics of his school, to whom we know he was deeply indebted for many of his critical attitudes.[8] As for Mr. Grattan's clear implication that Lowell had never heard of Taine, it is only necessary to recall that Lowell told E. L. Godkin in a letter of 1871 that he *had* read the Frenchman's book when it first appeared some seven years before.[9] Of his opinion of Taine there are at least two expressions, neither of which supports Professor Parrington's assertion that he merely scoffed at him. In a letter to Mrs. Clifford in 1884

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[7] *Works*, VI, 57.

[8] Goethe's influence upon Lowell in this respect is examined by George Wurfl, "Lowell's Debt to Goethe: A Study of Literary Influence," *Pennsylvania State College Studies*, I, No. 2 (1936), pp. 61-64.

[9] See Lowell to Godkin, Dec. 20, 1871 (*Letters of James Russell Lowell*, ed. C. E. Norton, New York, 1894, II, 76).

Lowell wrote: "I have been reading Taine's new volume. It is interesting as a collection of *pièces justificatives,* but not judicial, as it seems to me. 'Tis argument of counsel, and not the charge of a judge weighing both sides."[10] And in his essay on "The Rebellion" he remarked, in the course of a brief survey of various contemporary schools of historians and biographers, that Taine, "having first assumed certain ethnological postulates, seems rather to shape the character of the literature to the race than to illustrate that of the race by the literature."[11] The modern judgment of Taine is, I think, substantially that. After all, there are better things to say of a nineteenth-century critic than that he was a devout follower of Taine.

But, stripped of the aberrations which unfortunately accompanied it, the essential idea which Taine was then popularizing—that the appearance of artistic genius in a given time and place presupposes certain fostering conditions—was received sympathetically by Lowell. In one of his lectures on "The Old English Dramatists" (1887), for instance, he says:

> For the production of a great literature there must be already a language ductile to all the varying moods of expression. There must be a certain amount of culture, or the stimulus of sympathy would be wanting. If, as Horace tells us, the heroes who lived before Agamemnon have perished for want of a poet to celebrate them, so doubtless many poets have gone dumb to their graves, or, at any rate, have uttered themselves imperfectly, for lack of a fitting vehicle or of an amiable atmosphere. Genius, to be sure, makes its own opportunity, but the circumstances must be there out of which it can be made.[12]

The writer cannot escape being affected by the character of the age in which he lives. "All ages," remarks Lowell elsewhere, "are, in some sense, ages of transition; but there are times when the transition is more marked, more rapid; and it is, perhaps, an ill fortune for a man of letters to arrive at maturity during such a period, still more to represent in himself the change that is going on, and to be an efficient cause in bringing it about."[13] It may be that we can attribute much of Lowell's notorious lukewarmness toward the English literature of his own era to what he considered his

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[10] Lowell to Mrs. W. K. Clifford, Dec. 14, 1884 (*ibid.*, II, 289).

[11] *Works*, V, 124.

[12] *Ibid.*, XI, 196.

[13] "Dryden," *ibid.*, III, 101.

> well-grounded doubts whether England is precisely the country from which we have a right to expect that most precious of gifts [great poetry] just now. There is hardly enough fervor of political life there at present to ripen anything but the fruits in the literary forcing-house, so fair outwardly and so flavorless compared with those which grow in the hardier open air of a vigorous popular sentiment. Mere wealth of natural endowment is not enough; there must be also the coöperation of the time, of the public genius roused to a consciousness of itself by the necessity of asserting or defending the vital principle on which that consciousness rests, in order that a poet may rise to the highest level of his vocation.[14]

Nor is the effect of local and temporal circumstance confined to the bringing of literary genius to full flower. Lowell recognizes that contemporary conditions have much to do with determining the precise form which literary creations will assume. Although, as he says in his "Carlyle," the gold of the poet must possess "a beauty of design and finish that are of no time," it "must be refined, moulded, stamped with the image and superscription of his time."[15] This consideration is particularly important in his several discussions of the question of the validity of classical criteria in judging modern art. "In any comparison . . . of Shakespeare with the ancients," he says, "we are not to contrast him with them as unapproachable models, but to consider whether he, like them, did not consciously endeavor, under the circumstances and limitations in which he found himself, to produce the most excellent thing possible, a model also in its own kind,—whether higher or lower in degree is another question."[16] And the essay on Swinburne, in which he devotes much time to considering the propriety of imitating the classical form of tragedy in the Victorian era, contains a whole series of dicta showing how fully aware he was of the influence of the time upon the creator:

> While the principles of art are immutable, their application must accommodate itself to the material supplied to them by the time and by the national character and traditions.

> The higher kinds of literature, the only kinds that live on because they had life at the start . . . are . . . born of some genetic principle in the character of the people and the age which produce them.

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[14] "Swinburne's Tragedies," *ibid.*, II, 120.

[15] *Ibid.*, II, 78.

[16] "Shakespeare Once More," *ibid.*, III, 58.

We should remember that the spirit of the age must enter as a modifying principle, not only into ideas, but into the best manner of their expression. The old bottles will not always serve for the new wine. A principle of life is the first requirement of all art, and it can only be communicated by the touch of the time and a simple faith in it; all else is circumstantial and secondary.[17]

If we followed Professor Clark in selecting the "Wordsworth" as the essay in which Lowell came nearest to following the historical method, we should certainly be justified in concluding, as he does, that Lowell was no historical critic. Actually, few of Lowell's critical essays reflect less of historical consciousness than does the "Wordsworth." It is when we turn to the essays on the Elizabethans especially that we realize the full injustice of the assertion that he was accustomed to judge his subjects in a vacuum. The most casual reading of his "Spenser" or of the opening pages of his "Shakespeare" will show how concerned he was to explain the greatness of Elizabethan literature in terms of the conditions of the age. Beginning the former paper with the thematic sentence, "Chaucer had been in his grave one hundred and fifty years ere England had secreted choice material enough for the making of another great poet," he presents an extended narrative of the course of English literature down to Spenser's time. In the "Spenser" and elsewhere he fully recognizes the influence of the Reformation in precipitating the national consciousness from solution, and outlines other later factors which contributed to the full burgeoning of the English spirit.[18] He understands, as clearly as does any modern scholar, the importance in literary history of the reading public. For the production of great literature in the Elizabethan age, "as when the same phenomenon happened elsewhere, there must have been a sympathetic public. Literature, properly so called, draws its sap from the deep soil of human nature's common and everlasting sympathies, and gathered leaf-mould of countless generations, . . . and not from any top-dressing capriciously scattered over the surface at some master's bidding."[19] He emphasizes, particularly in the case of Shakespeare, the part played by the evolving language in determining the time most favorable to the emergence of great literature He sees the Elizabethan age, therefore, as a moment when many conditions essential for the encouragement of creation "had slowly and silently concurred."[20] "If circumstances could ever make a great national poet, here were all the elements mingled at melting-heat in the alembic, and the lucky moment of projection was clearly come."[21]

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[17] *Ibid.*, II, 131, 131-132, 138.

[18] See especially "Spenser," *ibid.*, IV, 293 ff., and "Shakespeare Once More," *ibid.*, III, 4 ff.

[19] "Spenser," *ibid.*, IV, 292-293.

Professor Foerster attributes to Lowell's understanding of the nature and value of historical criticism the fact that "he managed to deal with the literature [of the eighteenth century] more justly, on the whole, than any other romantic critic."[22] Nowhere is Lowell more concerned to estimate a poet in terms of the intellectual background and the temper of the audience for which he wrote. The question he poses for himself as a critic of Pope is, "How much was it possible to make of the material supplied by the age in which he lived? and how much did he make of it?"[23] For Pope, as he had previously pointed out, "had one of the prime qualities of a great poet in exactly answering the intellectual needs of the age in which he lived, and in reflecting its lineaments. He did in some not inadequate sense hold the mirror up to nature."[24] And for his popularity "circumstances paved the way": the "artistic vassalage to France," England's concomitant insularity, the decline of religion, and so on. In his other chief essay on eighteenth-century literature, the "Gray," Lowell takes similar pains to analyze the circumstances, both antecedent and contemporary, which to a greater or less degree determined the character of Gray's poetry.[25]

And what of Lowell's frequent dealings with American literature? If his essays on English subjects contain more terse statements of his belief in the influence of cultural conditions upon literature, his paper on James Gates Percival and his response to the toast "To Our Literature," to mention only two *loci,* contain the most significant expansions and applications of that belief. Surely not even the most perverse of Lowell's critics could accuse him of maintaining that America could expect an indigenous literature to grow up *in vacuo*—without the subtle interplay of cultural influences. Lowell is seldom more painstaking than in his passages analyzing American cultural history from the earliest times, each being intended to explain why (as he thought) the American nation had not produced a major poet. There was no doubt, he said, that in good time we should contribute our just share, and more besides, to the literature of the world; but since "artistic literature . . . thrives best in an air laden with tradition, in a soil mellow with immemorial culture, in the temperature steady yet stimulating of historic and national associations, . . . for a long while yet the proper conditions will be wanting, not, perhaps, for the birth of [a great American poet], but for his development and culture."[26] The soundness of his conclusion may be questioned, no doubt, but Lowell's very use of such a premise, taking as it does full cognizance of the importance of milieu, is significant.

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[20] "The Old English Dramatists," *ibid.,* XI, 197.

[21] "Shakespeare Once More," *ibid.,* III, 5.

[22] Foerster, *op. cit.,* p. 121.

[23] *Works,* IV, 24-25.

[24] "Pope," *ibid.,* IV, 10.

[25] *Ibid.,* XI, 1 ff.

Those who cannot find in Lowell even a small share of sympathy with the historical approach in criticism are fond of referring to his lengthy, *Quarterly Review*-style attack upon Masson's *Life of Milton* as evidence that he could not tolerate the "life and times" method of literary biography. I can find nothing in that essay which can reasonably be interpreted as providing support for such a view. It is true that he slashes Masson's performance to ribbons; but he is careful to point out that Masson's fault lay not in his recognition of the necessity of considering Milton's milieu, but rather in his having placed so much stress upon background as to obscure the main personage of the study. Nowhere does Lowell question the validity of the critical philosophy behind Masson's work; nowhere does he quarrel with the contention that Milton must be studied as a man of his time. He simply objects (and with entire rightness) to Masson's excesses.

> We have [he says] no fault to find with the thoroughness of Mr. Masson's "historical inquiries." The more thorough the better, so far as they were essential to the satisfactory performance of his task. But it is only such contemporary events, opinions, or persons as were really operative on the character of the man we are studying that are of consequence, and we are to familiarize ourselves with them, not so much for the sake of explaining as of understanding him. The biographer, especially of a literary man, need only mark the main currents of tendency, without being officious to trace out to its marshy source every runlet that has cast in its tiny pitcherful with the rest.[27]

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[26] "James Gates Percival," *ibid.*, II, 148, 152. [27] *Ibid.*, IV, 61-62.

Lowell often employs historical perspective to explain the presence, in certain writers, of a moral tone offensive to his Brahmin sensibilities. "It is a mischievous fallacy in historian or critic," he points out, "to treat as a blemish of the man what is but the common tincture of his age. It is to confound a spatter of mud with a moral stain."[28] When he is troubled by the latitude of speech customary in the literature of Dryden's time, he remembers that "in his [Dryden's] day *manners* meant what we call *morals,* that custom always makes a larger part of virtue among average men than they are quite aware, and that the reaction from an outward conformity which had no root in inward faith may for a time have given to the frank expression of laxity an air of honesty that made it seem almost refreshing."[29] So too with Fielding, whose artistry he admires but whose coarseness he deplores. "We must," he says, "guard against falling into the anachronism of forgetting the coarseness of the age into which he was born, and whose atmosphere he breathed. It was a generation whose sense of smell was undisturbed by odors that would now evoke a sanitary commission, and its moral nostrils were of an equally masculine temper."[30]

It would, of course, be folly to insist even that Lowell uses the historical method consistently, let alone that he uses it with its maximum effectiveness. That he does judge *in vacuo* in certain cases cannot be denied. Although he spends much time in the first part of his essay on Chaucer in outlining the chief literary traditions of Chaucer's day, the relations he establishes between the poet and the actual cultural climate of his day are vague at best. The "Dante," however, is the most conspicuous example of the failure of his historical powers. "While we can in some sort," he says, "account for such representative men as Voltaire and Goethe (nay, even Shakespeare) by the intellectual and moral fermentation of the age in which they lived, Dante seems morally isolated and to have drawn his inspiration almost wholly from his own internal reserves."[31] It is unfortunate, too, that he was so often content to allow the frequent allusions which he made to the influence of a poet's milieu upon his work to remain mere fertile hints and nothing more. His besetting sin of formlessness, his never-to-be-denied urge to leap animatedly from one subject to another, forbade that he should ever develop to a satisfactory extent his proposition that Shakespeare and Spenser and Pope each was the child of his age.

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[28] "Shakespeare Once More," *ibid.,* III, 55.

[29] "Dryden," *ibid.,* III, 151.

[30] "Fielding," *ibid.,* VI, 59-60.

[31] *Ibid.,* IV, 161-162.

But the point is that he was by no means ignorant of the value or the nature of historical criticism, and that his critical essays abound with evidences of his awareness of the power exerted by contemporary circumstance upon the literature of a given era. The essential conservatism of his critical temperament, his love for impressionistic judgments, and the state of criticism at the time he wrote precluded his developing into the thoroughly scientific historical critic that many of his detractors seem to feel he should have been. That he had, however, a keen and intimate sense of history, and even (witness his fine essay on "New England Two Centuries Ago") an unusual gift for transplanting himself into other ages, cannot, I think, be questioned.

THE LITERARY BACKGROUND OF HOWELLS'S SOCIAL CRITICISM

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THAT BETWEEN the years 1889 and 1894—from *Annie Kilburn* to *A Traveler from Altruria*—the major novels of William Dean Howells were markedly economic and even socialistic in their criticism of American life is an interpretation commonly conceded by literary historians. Until 1930 those historians who inquired into the factors responsible for the marked change in Howells that occurred during the period of his "economic novels" were content to give Tolstoy sole credit as an influence, basing their view upon Howells's own words: "What I feel sure is that I can never look at life in the mean and sordid way that I did before I read Tolstoy."[1] The first study to deal with the factors which were responsible for the "economic novels" of Howells was made by Professor Taylor, who without discrediting the influence of Tolstoy has added some four other influences: the Haymarket trial, other industrial disputes, Henry George, and Edward Bellamy.[2] Professor Taylor's essay is remarkably fine, but on its own admission does not attempt a systematic study of influences on Howells. In 1938 an article by Mr. Getzels[3] suggested that a Marxist origin could alone account for the "economic novels"; and while it did not locate any single factor, it questioned several of the influences advanced by Professor Taylor. Mr. Wright[4] first brought to public notice Laurence Gronlund as the Marxist factor which Mr. Getzels had not discovered, but (through an analysis of the novels) had indicated must somewhere exist. A note following upon the articles of Messrs. Getzels and Wright presented additional evidence for the importance of Gronlund in influencing the social views of Howells, and also indicated more exactly the extent to which Howells presented a Marxian philosophy in his "economic novels."[5]

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[1] *My Literary Passions* (New York, 1895), p. 257.

[2] W. F. Taylor, "On the Origin of Howells's Interest in Economic Reform," *American Literature*, II, 3-14 (March, 1930).

[3] J. W. Getzels, "William Dean Howells and Socialism," *Science and Society*, II, 376-386 (Summer, 1938).

[4] Conrad Wright, "The Sources of Mr. Howells's Socialism," *Science and Society*, II, 514-517 (Fall, 1938).

A recently discovered interview reaffirms the evidence of Howells's debt to Gronlund cited in the *Science and Society* articles—the "Editor's Study" of April, 1888, and a manuscript letter of November 23, 1888. At the same time it corrects the impression that it was through reading alone that Howells came to know his foremost mentor in socialism:

> "It was ten years ago," said Mr. Howells the other day, "that I first became interested in the creed of Socialism. I was in Buffalo when Laurence Gronlund lectured there before the Fortnightly Club. Through this address I was led to read his book, 'The Co-operative Commonwealth,' and Kirkup's article in the Encyclopedia Britannica. Afterward I read the 'Fabian Essays'; I was greatly influenced also by a number of William Morris's tracts. The greatest influence, however, came to me through reading Tolstoi. Both as an artist and as a moralist I must acknowledge my deep indebtedness to him."[6]

Howells's story of his first contact with Gronlund has a very important implication in that he did not merely read him as an independent author of a book but heard him as a leading member of the Socialist Labor party, a fact which suggests a much greater awareness by Howells of real socialistic activity than has usually been granted. In describing his other reading of the time—Kirkup, the Fabian tracts, and Morris—Howells also has indicated a more thorough study of socialistic doctrine than has been generally realized. At the same time one should observe that he still did not go directly to Marx, although *Das Kapital* was available, but was content to have Marxianism in its modified Gronlundian interpretation.[7]

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[5] George Arms, "Further Inquiry into Howells's Socialism," *Science and Society*, III, 245-248 (Spring, 1939).

[6] G., "Mr. Howells's Socialism," *American Fabian*, IV, 2 (Feb., 1898). The Socialist Labor party held its convention in Buffalo beginning September 17, 1887. Greeted with a mixture of derision and fear by the Buffalo *Express*, its activities were publicized daily in that paper, and a speech in English on September 20 by Gronlund (who was on the Platform Committee) was noted though not reported. The Fortnightly Club met on the first and third Thursdays; it is thus possible that Gronlund arrived early and spoke on September 15 (or on September 22, if the meetings were held irregularly in September). Howells's winter residence in Buffalo was from November 15 to February 3. He may have been in town during the convention, since he was in near-by Dansville. His nieces were reported in town on October 16; Howells was reported in town on October 21. I have examined a file of the *Express*, but have failed to find anything beyond the above to indicate the time or nature of Gronlund's speech.

[7] Cf. Arms, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

Even in view of Howells's testimony,[8] not too much weight should be given to Morris and the Fabians as factors in the development of Howells's doctrine. His writings indicate no important influence from them that does not have its more convincing parallel in Gronlund.[9] In what one might term their spiritual influence, they are certainly to be acknowledged. Though not so important as Tolstoy, along with such men as E. E. Hale, T. W. Higginson, and R. T. Ely they nevertheless form that general background of what Howells later called "a real renascence"[10] (the industrial consciousness of the 1880's and 1890's). In the same category, though in positions of importance somewhere between Tolstoy and these others, Henry George and Edward Bellamy[11] are also to be placed, with the doctrines of both of whom Howells found some fault.[12]

Indeed, although here and there influence from persons other than Gronlund occurs, the almost exclusive basis of Howells's social philosophy in the period of his "economic novels" is Gronlund's *Coöperative Commonwealth.* The numerous parallels between the two men can be briefly and convincingly illustrated by the parallels (at times verbal, in spite of a six-year lapse) between this book and *A Traveler from Altruria.*[13] In the analysis of American society both Howells and Gronlund noted public education as a surface tendency toward socialism. Both men noted the interdependence of the poor and the essentially socialistic core of labor unions. Both felt that the militia, made up of petty bourgeoisie, was the foe of the workman; both saw the possibility of a gradual absorption of private farm lands through railroad monopoly. It was the belief of both that the American worker, though then perhaps not without prosperity, would soon be as poor as his fellow in Europe; that slavery remained in the wage system.

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[8] One need not quarrel with the evidence in spite of the fact that the interviewer was representing a Fabian magazine. "G.," the author of frequent articles in *American Fabian,* must have been the editor, W. J. Ghent. Gronlund had been a contributing editor, but had been dropped with the Dec., 1896, issue.

[9] George Arms, "The Social Criticism of William Dean Howells" (unpublished dissertation, New York University, 1939), considers the influence of Tolstoy, Morris, George, Bellamy, *et al.* in its relation to Gronlund. Mr. W. F. Ekstrom, of the University of Illinois, has a dissertation in progress on the relation of Howells and Morris.

[10] "An Appreciation," New York *Times,* sec. 7, p. 309 (Aug. 26, 1917).

[11] *Ibid.* Both are mentioned as typifying the renascence.

[12] As instances of his general attitude, see *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells,* ed. Mildred Howells (Garden City, 1928), I, 408 and II, 21 (for George); "Edward Bellamy," *Atlantic Monthly,* LXXXII, 254 (Aug., 1898).

[13] Sources of parallels for the next two paragraphs are cited in their respective order. EDUCATION, cf. Gronlund, *Coöperative Commonwealth in its Outlines* (Boston [cop. 1884]), p. 260, with Howells, *A Traveler from Altruria* (New York, 1894), pp. 217-218; POOR, cf. Gronlund, p. 260, Howells, p. 160; UNIONS, cf. Gronlund, p. 273, Howells, p. 73; MILITIA, cf. Gronlund, p. 267, Howells, pp. 224-225; FARM LANDS, cf. Gronlund, p. 267, Howells, p. 196; AMERICAN WORKER, cf. Gronlund, p. 62, Howells, p. 57; SLAVERY, cf. Gronlund, p. 262, Howells, p. 178; ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION, cf. Gronlund, pp. 55-62, Howells, pp. 256-264; PREVIOUS PERIODS, cf. Gronlund, p. 59, Howells, p. 194; NATIONALIZATION, cf. Gronlund, p. 123, Howells, p. 307; CITIES, cf. Gronlund, p. 260, Howells, p. 281; ISOLATION, cf. Gronlund, p. 272, Howells, p. 299; CRIME, cf. Gronlund, p. 245, Howells, p. 305; PROSTITUTION, cf. Gronlund, p. 213, Howells, p. 194; DECENTRALIZATION, cf. Gronlund, p. 119, Howells, pp. 281-282.

In their attitude towards socialistic revolution, both men gave an economic interpretation of history with the use of similar terminology. Both conceived of previous periods as the necessary basis of future socialism. Again, both men saw the revolution as beginning with the nationalization of the greater enterprises; both saw the revolution as beginning in the cities; and both felt that the isolation of America would make revolution there peculiarly practicable. In the achieved commonwealth the two men prophesied the disappearance of crime, the end of prostitution, and a rapid decentralization of population.

II

Yet the significance of Gronlund is that he influenced Howells's philosophy, and not his literary form. Except for Bellamy, whose popularization of the utopian novel must have been responsible for Howells's utopian ventures,[14] Howells was not influenced esthetically by the other figures of the industrial renascence who have been mentioned. Furthermore, their influence was spiritual (that is, generating the condition rather than fixing the condition) and not doctrinal. Although Howells came to know Tolstoy in a literary way, through reading his novels, Tolstoy's influence was also primarily philosophical. It is true that Howells regarded Tolstoy as the perfector of Turgenev's realism,[15] and some refinements in Howells's later realism can be attributed to his idol. But in one of his earliest papers on Tolstoy he wrote that he could not regard his novels esthetically, but only ethically.[16] Toward the end of his career he observed to Van Wyck Brooks that his own work as a writer showed no trace of Tolstoy's influence.[17]

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[14] The credit given to Bellamy in *A Traveler from Altruria,* p. 312, only serves to anticipate inevitable comparison between Howells's utopia and the earlier and more famous work.

[15] *My Literary Passions* (New York, 1895), p. 253.

[16] "Lyof Tolstoï," *Harper's Weekly,* XXXI, 300 (April 23, 1887).

The fact that in the past all the attention has been focused upon factors that were primarily philosophical in their influence upon Howells has resulted in the neglect of the literary side of his work. Nevertheless, it is the expression of his philosophy in his creative work that lends Howells much of his significance today, and it would be superficial to suppose that the acceptance of a socialistic philosophy would be automatically transferred into literary production without some literary precedent to impel such a transfer. The two main sources of literary influence which this paper treats are the *Atlantic* and its coterie and the work of Björnstjerne Björnson. These factors are not to be absolutely divided from philosophical ones; they are distinct in that they did not change Howells's social thinking but gave him precedent and impetus to express his social thinking in his creative work. For the most part they were operative before the philosophical factors. Since Howells's interests during his early career were primarily esthetic, it was natural that the germinative process should have its inception on the literary rather than on the philosophic side.

Howells's association with the *Atlantic* and with the literary men of Boston is commonly thought to have considerably retarded his social development. In the case of his relationship with literary men the evidence points to an absolutely contrary conclusion, and even in the case of his association with the *Atlantic* the evidence suggests a strong qualification. While with another magazine Howells's social thinking might have developed more rapidly and while his genteel estheticism may have been unquestioned during his association with the *Atlantic,* actually Howells did not repress his utterances on social matters in order to maintain the tradition of the magazine.

Although conservative, the *Atlantic* of Howells's time was not aloof from contemporary social issues, and under Howells it became more and more concerned with them. As editor Howells inaugurated a department entitled "Politics," and he himself contributed to it twice.[18] Typical of a number of contributions are several distinguished by names still commonly recognized today: Robert Dale Owen on his father's utopia, Charles Francis Adams on railroad monopoly, a pro-and-con review of George's *Progress and Poverty,* R. T. Ely on credit unions, and H. D. Lloyd on the relation of the oil companies to the railroads (with a sympathetic digression on the 1877 strikes).[19] As editor and assistant editor Howells both decided on the publication of such articles and must have been stimulated by them.

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[17] Brooks, "Mr. Howells at Work at Seventy-two," *World's Work,* XVIII, 11549 (May, 1909).

[18] "Politics," *Atlantic Monthly,* XXX, 127-128, 638-640 (July, Nov., 1872).

More relevant to problems of his own fiction are two articles by Howells dealing with writings which had been serialized in the magazine. Jonathan B. Harrison's *Certain Dangerous Tendencies of American Life* (1880) in a conservative fashion recognized the change wrought by the hard times of 1878, sympathized with yet feared the workers, and felt they might be pacified by clever propaganda. Thomas Bailey Aldrich's *Stillwater Tragedy* (1880) was a bitter antilabor novel which gave over a good portion of its final pages to a strike by marble workers. In the case of Harrison's work, with its rather detailed description of individual workers, Howells felt that the material presented was susceptible to treatment in fiction.[20] In the case of Aldrich's novel he singled out for particular praise the reactionary treatment of the strike—"a contribution to our knowledge of such matters."[21] That Aldrich, the disciple of romanticism and unyielding capitalism, followed him in the editorship may indicate that socially Howells grew more rapidly than the magazine; but his recommendation of *The Stillwater Tragedy* as a guide to labor problems does not indicate a tremendous cleavage between the two men's social ideals at the time. Yet the interest shown in the strike, coupled with the literary approach to Harrison, reveals a Howells concerned with the impact of social problems on literature.

Beginning with *A Modern Instance* Howells ceased publishing his novels in the *Atlantic Monthly* and began serializing them in the

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[19] Owen, [on New Harmony,] *ibid.,* XXXII, 224-236, 336-348 (Aug., Sept., 1873); Adams, "The State and the Railroads," *ibid.,* XXXVII-XXXVIII, 360-371, 691-699, 72-85 (March, June, July, 1876); W. B. Weeden and Willard Brown, [review,] *ibid.,* XLVI, 846-854 (Dec., 1880); Ely, "German Coöperative Credit Unions," *ibid.,* XLVII, 207-223 (Feb., 1881); Lloyd, "The Story of a Great Monopoly," *ibid.,* XLVII, 317-334 (March, 1881). Although appearing after Howells's resignation, the last item was undoubtedly published through his influence (*Life in Letters,* II, 46).

[20] "A New Observer," *Atlantic Monthly,* XLV, 848 (June, 1880).

[21] "Mr. Aldrich's Fiction," *ibid.,* XLVI, 697 (Nov., 1880).

Century Magazine. *A Modern Instance,* however, can hardly be considered merely as a release from the restrictions of the *Atlantic;* Howells was interested in earning a livelihood,[22] and as he went from one magazine to another he was accustomed to receive more money.[23] The *Atlantic* review of *A Modern Instance* cited it as his "greatest achievement,"[24] and the review of *The Rise of Silas Lapham* called it "a real piece of literature, which surely will not lose its charm when the distinctions of Nankeen Square and Beacon Street have become merely antiquarian nonsense."[25] These reviews were as appreciative as those of his nonsocial *Indian Summer,*[26] and of *Dr. Breen's Practice,*[27] the last novel by Howells to be serialized in the *Atlantic.* Thus one may conclude that, had Howells remained with the *Atlantic,* his progress in social realism would have been as advanced as it otherwise was.

As for the literary set in which Howells moved during his Boston period, the advice from his two closest friends in it, Lowell of the older generation and James of the younger, was that Howells should follow those social directions in his novels which he finally did. In the case of the older man there was less advice than approval of the accomplished fact. Howells later realized the limitations of Lowell's political doctrines as well as his innate inclination to romanticism.[28] But in an earlier stage of Howells's development he recognized that Lowell had gone beyond him socially in condemning pseudo-democratic America as the "Land of Broken Promise"[29] and in looking tolerantly upon the Irish immigrants.[30] By advising Howells against accepting the Johns Hopkins professorship in 1882[31] and by advising him earlier to return to the West[32] Lowell had tried to keep him free for novel writing and clear of Eastern effeteness.

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[22] *Life in Letters,* I, 296, 328-329.

[23] Anon., "The Lounger," *Critic,* IV, 307 (June 28, 1884). The figure of five thousand dollars refers to what the *Century* paid. This presumably was higher than what the *Atlantic* paid, though just what it paid is not known.

[24] H. E. Scudder, [review,] *Atlantic Monthly,* L, 710 (Nov., 1882).

[25] *Ibid.,* LVI, 556 (Oct., 1885).

[26] *Ibid.,* LVII, 855-857 (June, 1886).

[27] *Ibid.,* XLIX, 128-130 (Jan., 1882).

[28] *Literary Friends and Acquaintance* (New York, 1900), pp. 220, 244.

[29] *Life in Letters,* I, 188.

[30] *Literary Friends and Acquaintance,* p. 219.

[31] *Letters of James Russell Lowell,* ed. C. E. Norton (New York, 1894), II, 268-270.

[32] *Years of My Youth* (New York [,1916]), p. 230.

Although acknowledging his individual preference for romanticism, Lowell showed enthusiasm for *The Rise of Silas Lapham* in a letter to Howells in 1885;[33] a year later he declared *The Minister's Charge* to be the best yet.[34] He expressed such a liking for James's most social novel, *The Princess Casamassima,* that he noted to James his intention of reading it again;[35] and the praise was sincere, for he told Howells substantially the same thing.[36]

This enthusiasm for the new direction that Howells had taken continued to Lowell's death. "Anyhow, I am glad to have lived long enough to have read your book,"[37] was his comment on *A Hazard of New Fortunes.* Of a story without social implications—*The Shadow of a Dream*—he wrote that it was "daintily subtle," but that it had not "pushed the *Hazard of New Fortunes* from its stool," and that Howells "must try again, and the sooner the better."[38] Nor were such opinions mere flattery, for to Thomas Hughes, Lowell, although noting an aversion to socialism, wrote of the novel: "A noble sentiment pervades it. . . . I felt in reading some parts of it as I used when the slave would not let me sleep."[39] But Lowell did not praise Howells merely because he was a friend. Of the Chicago anarchists he wrote that he felt the "ruffians well hanged."[40] In view of Howells's efforts to secure their retrial, such a statement must have cut Howells to the quick.

The exhortations from James that Howells broaden his field and the approval of his social direction are of particular interest since the larger aspect of society is seldom reflected in James's novels and since it is generally believed that James restrained Howells. In 1884 James wrote confidentially to Howells: ". . . I regard you as the great American naturalist. I don't think you go far enough, and you are haunted with romantic phantoms and a tendency to factitious glosses. . . ."[41] In *Harper's Weekly* two years later James congratulated Howells upon forsaking the Italian for the American scene and upon manifesting his new interest in plebeian life:

> This production [*The Rise of Silas Lapham*] had struck me as the author's high water mark until I opened the monthly sheets of *Lemuel*

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[33] *Letters of James Russell Lowell,* II, 297.

[34] *Ibid.,* II, 306.

[35] *New Letters of James Russell Lowell,* ed. M. A. DeWolfe Howe (New York, 1932), p. 296.

[36] *Life in Letters,* I, 388.

[37] *New Letters of James Russell Lowell,* p. 335.

[38] *Ibid.,* p. 341.

[39] *Letters of James Russell Lowell,* II, 399.

[40] *Ibid.,* II, 394.

[41] *Letters of Henry James,* ed. Percy Lubbock (New York, 1920), I, 105.

Barker [*The Minister's Charge*], in which the art of imparting a palpitating interest to common things and unheroic lives is pursued (or is destined, apparently, to be pursued) to an even higher point.[42]

Even here the implication is that Howells could broaden his study of the social scene more; nor did this advice by James mark only a brief emotion coincident with his own writing of *The Princess Casamassima.* For the advice continued into the 1890's. James reported to Howells in that year that *A Hazard of New Fortunes* had filled him with "communicable rapture," that it was a "much bigger feat" than *The Minister's Charge;* but he would note at the same time that Howells still turned his back on much.[43] Later in the same year he minimized an apparent misgiving on Howells's part by telling him that he was absolutely on the right track in his recent writing.[44]

Although Roswell Smith, the associate of Richard Gilder in the conduct of the *Century Magazine,* was not a member of the *Atlantic* coterie, his advice is further indication that Howells's associates wished him to progress towards greater realism and sharper social criticism in his work. In constant correspondence with Howells during the period when his stories were being serialized in the *Century,* Smith did not refrain from advice and suggestions.[45] In 1885 he urged Howells to use the motif of capital and labor in a novel.[46] Although Howells did not act immediately upon this advice and in his writing of *A Hazard of New Fortunes* was probably uninfluenced by it, it is nevertheless of great importance in its indication that Howells's social development was fostered by his associates.

The advice of Lowell and James and Smith was supplemented by others of the Boston coterie, notably Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Brooks Adams. Higginson, who lived in Cambridge after 1878, was admired by Howells both for his abolitionist activities[47] and for his later social thinking.[48] In one of the first critical studies of Howells, the social weight of his novels was praised and the belief was expressed that he was ready for a "bolder sweep of arm, a more generous handling of full-sized humanity," although somewhat inconsistently the drunken scene in *The Lady of the Aroostook* was condemned as "so realistic as to be out of place."[49] Brooks Adams was associated with Howells as an occasional contributor to the *Atlantic;* while Adams had had reason for disliking him because of the recent rejection of an article,[50] he nevertheless indorsed the use of Yankee background in *The Undiscovered Country,* which he believed to be the novelist's strongest work: "Not to mince matters, Mr. Howells hitherto seems to us to have spent his strength on rather small game."[51]

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[42] Henry James, "William Dean Howells," *Harper's Weekly,* XXX, 394 (June 19, 1886).

[43] *Letters of Henry James,* I, 163-165.

[44] Harvard Library: Howells Collection. A letter from James to Howells dated Dec. 7 [1890].

[45] Harvard Library: Howells Collection. In a letter dated March 21, 1885, from Smith to Howells, he expressed the hope that Howells would end *The Rise of Silas Lapham* unhappily; in fact, all of his advice is towards a sterner and not weaker realism.

[46] *Ibid.,* a letter dated May 17, 1885, from Smith to Howells. Smith's hope was that such a novel would postpone or prevent the impending struggle.

Thus the Boston which Howells knew best and loved most was by no means an obstacle in his progress towards keener social criticism. At the same time in his critical papers Howells was making every effort to read into that Boston as much liberality as he possibly could; to call attention to the antislavery interests of Longfellow[52] and to Emerson's approval of John Brown.[53] By no means unaware of the shortcomings of his environment—a Socrates in Boston might receive no better treatment than in Athens[54]—he could later excuse the older generation by observing that few men are good for more than one reform.[55] Howells indeed realized the conservatism of Boston where such conservatism existed, and realized it as a shortcoming.

There was, however, a Boston whose shortcomings Howells did not excuse and whose snobberies he did not truckle to. He had already treated this aspect of Boston in *A Chance Acquaintance.*[56] More ample and biting treatment was made fifteen years later in *April Hopes.* The conclusion, in which Dan Mavering fails to marry a Yonkers girl and is all but condemned to married life with a Bostonian, was the altogether unambiguous commentary of the author. The mistake of identifying Howells with the community which he portrayed, a mistake perpetrated by so many critics, has already been indicated by Cooke.[57] Contemporary criticism also recognized what Howells was doing; for instance, a reviewer for the *Nation,* having in mind not only the novels mentioned but most of the other novels published in the 1880's, referred to the "Boston under a scalpel" group.[58]

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[47] [Review of Higginson's *Army Life in a Black Regiment,*] *Atlantic Monthly,* XXIV, 643-644 (Nov., 1869).

[48] *Literature and Life* (New York, 1902), p. 294.

[49] Higginson, *Short Studies of American Authors* (Boston [, 1879]), pp. 37, 39. But Howells's fondness for drunkenness as a literary matter remained unimpaired; see *A Modern Instance* (Boston [, 1910]), pp. 300-309, and *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (Boston [, 1937]), pp. 212-216. On several occasions, as here, citations are not made from first editions.

[50] Harvard Library: Howells Collection. Letter from Adams to Howells, dated Feb. 13, 1880.

[51] Brooks Adams, "The Undiscovered Country," *International Review,* IX, 150 (Aug., 1880).

[52] "Editor's Study," *Harper's Magazine,* LXXIII, 155 (June, 1886).

[53] *Ibid.,* LXXVI, 477 (Feb., 1888).

[54] *Ibid.,* LXXIV, 986 (May, 1887).

[55] *Literary Friends and Acquaintance,* p. 136.

No certain line divided the Cambridge literary aristocrats from those fringes of Boston society that did not esteem the life of letters with equal fervor. But if the novels may be used as evidence,[59] Howells himself perceived such a distinction. Reminiscences and letters indicate as fully as documents can that Howells, first as the protégé of Lowell and later in his own right, received the complete endorsement of Boston literary society. But in contrast with this circumstance is the snobbish disregard for authors shown by Arbuton, a Boston aristocrat,[60] and the attitude of Helen, his female counterpart, towards the literary man, Evans: "As soon as she learned what Mr. Evans's business was, she understood, of course, that they could never have been people that people knew."[61] After Howells left Boston this breach between him and the closely restricted upper-class society widened. But that there was no complete amity during the period of his Boston residence helps to explain his earlier observations on equality in the Boston novels; it also helps to explain his later identification of the author with the worker, when he wished that he could make his "fellow-artists realize that economically they are the same as mechanics, farmers, day-laborers."[62]

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[56] *A Chance Acquaintance* (Boston, 1873), pp. 152-153.

[57] D. G. Cooke, *William Dean Howells: A Critical Study* (New York [, 1922]), pp. 114-115.

[58] Anon., "Mr. Howells's Latest Novel," *Nation,* L, 454 (June 5, 1890).

[59] *Life in Letters,* I, 367, may be a faint suggestion: "Besides that, I keenly enjoyed these fine touches by which you [James] suggest a more artistically difficult and evasive Boston than I ever get at. The fashionableness which is so unlike the fashionableness of other towns. . . ." Cf. *ibid.,* I, 388 (to James, after publication of *The Minister's Charge*): "Into Boston society I'm asked very little and go less."

[60] *A Chance Acquaintance,* p. 165.

[61] *A Woman's Reason* (Boston, 1883), p. 252.

III

A second source of literary influence may be found in the work of Björstjerne Björnson. Although his influence in stimulating Howells's early realism cannot be controverted, he has heretofore been altogether neglected by critics even in this aspect. In stimulating Howells's later social realism, the evidence of Björnson's influence is likewise convincing. With either case, however, the problem is much too complex to argue Björnson as a sole influence, for it can be justly considered only with such early indebtedness as that to Goldoni and with such later indebtedness as that to Turgenev in mind.

In 1870 Howells had read three of Björnson's pastoral romances in translation; in a long review he commented most favorably upon the simplicity, the humbleness of the characters, and their decency (although portions he quoted were concerned with illegitimacy, drunkenness, and attempted murder).[63] Of the works and the author he concluded:

> From him we can learn . . . that the lives of men and women, if they be honestly studied, can, without surprising incident or advantageous circumstance, be made as interesting in literature as are the smallest private affairs of the men and women in one's own neighborhood; that telling a thing is enough, and explaining it too much. . . .[64]

Such a conclusion shows the real debt which Howells owed to Björnson, although Howells later forgot the important effect that Björnson had upon him when in his reminiscences he slighted his influence in comparison to Turgenev's.[65] In the summer following his review he had journeyed down the St. Lawrence, and these "smallest private affairs" had been put down in Howells's first attempt at fiction, *Their Wedding Journey.* Thus he could exclaim in that novel—well before he had read Turgenev and much more in the spirit of Björnson's pastoralism than in that of the Russian's more somber realism: "Ah! poor Real Life, which I love, can I make others share the delight I find in thy foolish and insipid face?"[66] A few months after the first review another appeared, this time of *The Railroad and the Churchyard;* in respect to it Howells noted Björnson's use of "local political machinery."[67]

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[62] "The Man of Letters as a Man of Business," *Scribner's Monthly,* XIV, 445 (Oct., 1893). Reprinted in *Literature and Life* in 1902.

[63] [Review of Björnson's *Arne, The Happy Boy, The Fisher Maiden,*] *Atlantic Monthly,* XXV, 504-512 (April, 1870).

[64] *Ibid.,* p. 512.

[65] *My Literary Passions,* p. 230. Ordinarily Howells's reminiscent writing is highly dependable, yet it sometimes embodies very real inaccuracies. Thus *My Literary Passions,* p. 254, indicates that Howells was swept away by enthusiasm when he first read Tolstoy; the actual letter to Perry (*Life in Letters,* I, 372) shows that Howells still retained a marked preference for Turgenev at the time.

Evidently the Norwegian was not forgotten in the intervening years between these first reviews and his visit in Cambridge during the winter of 1880-1881.[68] In the meantime Björnson had undergone the same change that was later to mark Howells, shifting from a more general to a distinctly social realism—a shift marked by the production of the dramas *The Editor* (1874) and *The Bankrupt* (1874). During the Cambridge visit the two struck up an intimate friendship, in part because of Howells's patience with Björnson's imperfect English, which excluded him from the acquaintance of other Cambridge authors.[69] In his weekly letter to his father Howells referred to Björnson as a "great genius"; he was a hot republican, the son added, and was in disgrace at home for having called the Norwegian king an ass.[70] The friendship that was begun at this time lasted throughout their lives.[71]

In an interview granted in 1887 Howells discussed Björnson immediately after paying tribute to Tolstoy;[72] although he attributed to him the source of his ideas only in regard to the "beauty of natural simple fiction," the strong ethical bent of Howells's mind at this time indicates that mentioning him at all attached a social connotation to his works. This interpretation is borne out by Howells's remarking some time later in a conversation with Boyesen that when he had been probing the difficulties of writing novels and their relation to life Björnson had said abruptly: "We do not put enough in."[73] Howells was later to feel only a sexual connotation in this cryptic sentence; yet in view of the literary direction in which Björnson was then working, the sentence probably meant that more life in social as well as sexual manifestations was called for.

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[66] *Their Wedding Journey* (Boston, 1875), p. 67. The assumption should not be made that the relationship was one of servile imitation. Howells, himself, wrote (*Life in Letters*, I, 162): ". . . I see clear before me a path in literature which no one else has tried, and which I believe I can make most distinctly my own."

[67] [Review,] *Atlantic Monthly*, XXVI, 638 (Nov., 1870).

[68] [Review of H. H. Boyesen's *Gunnar*,] *ibid.*, XXXIV, 624-625 (Nov., 1874). Boyesen is compared with Björnson.

[69] H. H. Boyesen, "Björnson in the United States," *Critic*, I, 58 (March 12, 1881).

[70] *Life in Letters*, I, 289.

[71] *Ibid.*, I, 423-424; II, 252-253.

[72] "Mr. Howells on Realism," New York *Tribune*, July 10, 1887, p. 12; reprinted in the *Critic*, XI, 32 (July 16, 1887).

In 1889 Howells enumerated the works of Björnson in his second or social period: *The Bankrupt* (1874), *The Editor* (1874), *The King* (1877), *Captain Manzana* (1879), *Dust* (1880), *The Glove* (1883), *Flags in the City and Harbor* (1884).[74] Although none of these works, with the exception of *Captain Manzana* and *Flags in the City and Harbor,* seem to have been translated into English before 1890, Howells could have read them almost from the beginning in German or French.

The fact that these works were named by Howells for the first time in February, 1889, does not mean that Howells read the works listed only just before he wrote the review. The point of departure in the review is the novel *Sigurd Slembe,* which he had just read. The first four works listed by Howells were probably read by him during Björnson's visit in 1880-1881 or shortly afterwards. In a letter written in 1880 Björnson, using the Norwegian title, requested his wife to send him a copy of *The King,* with the notation that Howells wanted to translate it.[75] It thus is very likely that Howells read *The King* at this time. In view of the continued friendship of the two men, it is also likely that Howells read *The Bankrupt* and *The Editor* at the same time, or was at least very familiar with them.

This interpretation is reinforced when one considers the marked similarities of the plays to Howells's own work. *The King* is a drama written about the attempt of a ruler to become a democratic monarch. When Howells had the chance to read it, the discussion of equality as well as the designation of America as the source of republican sentiment[76] would have held a good deal of interest for him. The discussion of socialism[77] is brought in obliquely, in a manner not dissimilar to Howells's treatment in *The Minister's*

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[73] "Real Conversations—I. A Dialogue between William Dean Howells and Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen," *McClure's Magazine,* I, 11 (June, 1893).

[74] "Editor's Study," *Harper's Magazine,* LXXVIII, 491 (Feb., 1889).

[75] *Kamp-Liv* [of Björnson], ed. Halvdan Koht (Oslo, 1932), I, 226.

[76] *Three Dramas by Björnson,* ed. R. F. Sharp (London [, 1924]), pp. 198-201, 210.

[77] *Ibid.,* pp. 223-224.

Charge[78] and *April Hopes.*[79] The condemnation of Christianity for its inability to face social issues[80] is also reflected in *The Minister's Charge;* but Howells's later insistence upon this point is more directly traceable to Tolstoy. Finally, the riot in *The King* may have been stored in Howells's memory for its later realization in the strike scene used so successfully in *A Hazard of New Fortunes.*

The theme of the drama *The Bankrupt* is precisely that employed in *The Rise of Silas Lapham.* In the drama the business which fails is more speculative[81] than Lapham's, but both Lapham and the "bankrupt" resisted the temptation to escape bankruptcy by unethical means and both were rewarded by a tranquil old age upon a small subsistence. Except upon one occasion when the question of what is to happen to the workers dependent upon the success of the firms arises,[82] there is no specific similarity; to a partisan Howells's interpretation seems indeed the more powerful. But the similarity of the plan and theme points towards the influence of the former.

In *The Editor* Björnson again introduced oblique references to socialism,[83] as he had done in *The King.* The play is itself an illustration of the abuse of power by the press, for through the editor's slanders one man was killed and another almost ruined. Though in *A Modern Instance* the main motif is that of divorce, at the same time Howells made a good deal of Hubbard's moral obtuseness in his journalistic practices and canvassed the whole question of the uses to which modern journalism was put.[84] Again, though the question of crime was the main theme in *The Quality of Mercy,* Howells also treated the journalistic practices that surrounded it.[85] Both Björnson and Howells emphasized the effect upon the friends of those subjected to the calumnies of the press.[86] In such novels as *A Hazard of New Fortunes, The World of Chance,* and *The Story of a Play* Howells used a literary background that was a part of his own experience—the magazine, the novel, and the play. But unless his contributions to New York papers in the summer of 1865 are so accounted, Howells had had no experience in metropolitan journalism, and indeed in the case of *The Quality of Mercy* had to appeal to the editor of the Boston *Transcript* for information on background.[87] Consequently it is reasonable to look for a literary precedent in his use of a journalistic background. Such a literary precedent Björnson's *Editor* provided.

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[78] *The Minister's Charge* (Boston, 1887), pp. 241-242.

[79] *April Hopes*, pp. 130-131.

[80] *Three Dramas by Björnson*, pp. 282-284. [81] *Ibid.*, p. 130-134.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 142; cf. *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, p. 300.

[83] *Three Dramas by Björnson*, pp. 18, 64.

[84] *A Modern Instance*, pp. 295-300, 358-367.

[85] *The Quality of Mercy* (New York, 1892), pp. 114, 121.

[86] *Three Dramas by Björnson*, pp. 4-10; *The Quality of Mercy*, pp. 163-173.

Other works mentioned in the 1889 review were *Dust, Captain Manzana, Flags in the City and Harbor,* and *The Glove,* respectively dealing with immortality, civic interests, inherited criminal tendencies, and the double sexual standard. Although these seem to have had no direct effect upon Howells's works, like the three plays of Björnson they must have helped teach Howells the possibility of using social background and social problems in his novels. Admiration for Björnson was too great during this critical period in Howells's social development and parallels in their works were too numerous to avoid awarding a significant place to Björnson as a literary influence. An evil-of-drink motif present in *The Bankrupt* seems even to have crept into the treatment of Putney in *Annie Kilburn,* a moral attitude towards drinking distinctly not in Howells's *métier.* Writing less than a year after his own conversion to socialism, Howells noted in the 1889 review the literary transmutation that Björnson had earlier undergone, and felt that his change from a democrat to a social and economic radical was inevitable in the development of those who profoundly sympathized with the people.[88] Thus Björnson not only provided a pattern which may have been that of several of Howells's novels but in striking fashion anticipated the pattern of his career. In 1895, after Howells had ceased to champion so ardently the use of social motifs in letters, he mentioned Björnson with the wish that he might turn more often from political to literary concerns.[89] At the same time he was to deny having received an "undue impression" from him; for somehow Björnson in retrospect was never as great to Howells as Björnson just read.

It is not to be presumed that the impetus towards the expression of social criticism in novels came solely from the conditions and

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[87] *Life in Letters,* II, 17.

[88] "Editor's Study," *Harper's Magazine,* LXXVIII, 491 (Feb., 1889).

[89] "Life and Letters," *Harper's Weekly,* XXXIX, 460 (May 18, 1895).

AMERICAN TRADITIONS AND OUR HISTORIES OF LITERATURE

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"THE COLONIAL period of our literature extends from the first permanent settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607 to the calling of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765," wrote L. W. Payne, Jr., in his *History of American Literature* (1919).[1] This beginning, variously phrased and variously analyzed, is repeated as a standard opening in literary histories of the United States of America. Close on its heels is the next statement, that in 1608 a member of the Jamestown colony, Captain John Smith, sent back a pamphlet to England which was published and is usually regarded as "the first book in American literature." The antecedents of this colonial venture were English, of course, so that it is conventional to read: "The literature of America was an off shoot from that of England. If an exact date for the divergence must be given, it may be set at 1607, the year of the founding of the first permanent British colony in the new world . . . the first American writer—Captain John Smith (1568?-1631)."[2]

The three spotting points—the Jamestown colony in 1607, Captain John Smith's *A True Relation* [etc.] in 1608, American literature stems from seventeenth-century England and is still stemming—have established firmly a critical basis for viewing the beginnings of American literature from their English backgrounds in Europe. This basis has been expanded by the discovery of new colonial documents, by new bibliography about Captain Smith and his collaterals, and by new perspectives about England and America at that time, but the English tradition, as it is carried on by the English language, has made few concessions to other elements in the literary history of this country.

Oddly enough, the British were among the first to suggest that some of the roots of North American literature might not be British. In an historical sketch by John Nichol, Professor of English Literature in the University of Glasgow, one meets a term that sounds strange in a history of these United States: "As Virginia was the parent of Anglo-American life, so it was the parent of Anglo-American literature. . . ."[3] Professor Nichol goes on to say that Captain John Smith's first American account has been recognized as the earliest book in American literature, but in 1882 it is singular to have a professor of literature speak of Virginia as the mother of Anglo-American letters. The compound "Anglo-American" distinguishes the tradition of English letters from Spanish-American, German-American, and other non-English literatures in America. What distinction has been made toward such literatures within the borders of the United States?

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[1] *History of American Literature* (Chicago, 1919), p. 1.

[2] William B. Cairns, *A History of American Literature* (rev. ed., New York, 1930), pp. 1-2.

A pioneer statement by an American critic that literary expression might stem from other than English sources came from George Woodberry, Professor of Comparative Literature in Columbia University, who in 1903 pointed out, first in *Harper's* and then in his book *America in Literature,* that vast accretions of people from foreign lands probably failed to share either the early Puritanism or the later Transcendentalism of New England and that the standard view of the literary traditions of this nation was as divorced from the life traditions as was a good deal of the literature itself.[4]

Professor Woodberry writes, ". . . it is necessary to take account of the vast accretions of our population from foreign lands, of a different ancestry and language from the race which founded the nation. . . ." He mentions specifically the German population, which may depend "even in the second generation to some degree, upon their own native books, on Goethe and Schiller, and their many minor compatriots, for the sentiment and ideas that flow from literature." He refers to the fascination which the Spanish explorations and conquest held for Prescott, but he does not mention the Spanish-American literature and culture within the territory of the United States. This may have been further accretion of foreign culture to him, but from the viewpoint of the native in that culture Woodberry is more foreign than he. Spanish-American life in the United States is older than Anglo-American. At what point the traditions of either European stock became stamped with Americanism is fundamental, but neither can claim to be an exclusive line in the country, though the English is culturally dominant. Professor Woodberry mentions the literature about Indians written by Cooper and other American writers, but he does not show awareness that the Indians may have any literature of their own worth considering or the possibility that they might contribute substantially to our arts and literature. It has been customary to treat the Indians, too, as "accretions of foreign population," something to be adjusted to the "American" norm.

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[3] *American Literature: An Historical Sketch, 1620-1880* (Edinburgh, 1882), p. 31.

[4] *America in Literature* (London and New York, 1903), pp. 215-235.

What then is to be done about American traditions, embracing as they do the Indian, Spanish, French, English, German, Yiddish, Negro, and others, and our literary histories, which begin with the first English reports about the New World and then segregate everything from then on as foreign accretions? First, where does American literary history begin?

If we must write history by chronology, let the literature tell the story of the land. The English epic *Beowulf* found no mention in English literature until an antiquary published a garbled summary in 1705; no English translation was made until 1837. Yet we do not introduce *Beowulf* into English histories as literature of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. It is discussed as the beginning, the source materials. Indian mythology, folk lore, poetic liturgy and lyric in America are mentioned, if at all, when the nineteenth and twentieth centuries became aware of them. This is our earliest literature: the great poetry in the Navajo Night Chant, singing of peace and beauty and earth, sky, sun, and stars, with the ancient truth and splendor of the Psalms; or the Creation Myth of the Zuñi Indians with its story of the progress of man through the worlds of darkness, water-moss, mud to wings and breathing and the breath of the light of day.

The Irish Folk Lore Commission is busy recording very old Gaelic songs and stories. If a great body of this material is recovered from oral tradition, Irish histories will place it early in the records, dated by its primitive themes and literary form. British Arthur and his culture were as hostile to the inroads of the English invaders as the American Indians and their way of life were to European invaders a thousand years later on. About six hundred years elapsed before Arthur, with splendid historical anachronism, began to lead his erstwhile pagan foes in search of a Christian grail. We have had four hundred years to learn something of the culture which preceded us, and there are many indications in literature, design, painting, crafts, architecture that the last half-century represents the kind of awakening to early folk material which occurred in twelfth-century England.

Second, how should the so-called "foreign" writings be viewed in our literary histories and anthologies? Some indication of a new point of view toward American traditions came in 1921 when the fourth volume of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* appeared. At the end of this volume were two chapters called "Non-English Writings." The first treated of German, French, and Yiddish writings in the United States. The second chapter, called "Aboriginal," was prepared by Mary Austin, and is a scholarly if somewhat weighty treatment of representative Indian modes of expression with their possible significance to modern American literature. I think Mrs. Austin probably felt at the time she wrote this excellent last chapter that it should have been the first chapter in the history, but she probably felt, too, that she was lucky to have a chance to write it at all. Quite as significant as German, French, or Yiddish literature for the United States is the Spanish literature through four centuries. The Eastern and Midwestern editors of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* overlooked it entirely.

Language does not seem a logical bar to recognition of non-English material as literature of the United States. In 1924-1925, a distinguished novel about South Dakota was published in Norway. It was written by a Norwegian-American, who taught at St. Olaf's College in Minnesota. Carl Van Doren has called Rölvaag's *Giants in the Earth* "as much a part of American literature as of Norwegian."[5] The literary history of Louisiana cannot neglect writings in French by its natives; nor can New Mexico neglect the treasured Spanish accounts.

Two important anthologies, published between 1930 and 1940, showed a disposition to walk in new paths. The period anthology, *American Literature*,[6] edited by Dr. Oscar Cargill and others, varies the familiar formulae. For Volume I, *The Roots of National Culture: To 1830,* Professor Robert E. Spiller, of Swarthmore, arranges a "Prologue" in which he places selections from the records of Christopher Columbus, Thomas Hakluyt, and Samuel de Champlain. Then under "The Settlement" we meet later writings of Captain Smith, *The True Travels* [etc.] (1630) and *The General Historie of Virginia* [etc.] (1624). Equally significant would be excerpts from Cabeza de Vaca's *Narrative . . . , 1528-1536*[7] or from Castañeda's *Narrative of the Expedition of Coronado, 1540-1541.*[8] Under "The Settlement" anthologists would do well to consider Gaspar de Villagrá's *History of New Mexico,* which describes the settlement of villages in the Rio Grande Valley in 1598 and 1599. The book was published in Spanish at Alcala (1610) and has been well translated by Gilberto Espinosa.[9] It is a long epic poem, written by a member of Oñate's company, and certainly is the first poem written about any part of the United States by someone who had been there.[10]

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[5] Carl Van Doren, *The American Novel* (rev. ed., New York, 1940), p. 301.

[6] *American Literature: A Period Anthology* (5 vols., New York, 1933).

Professor Spiller has also included Indian material in Volume I of this collection representative of America. Under "Folk Literature" and at the end of the volume are eight pages of material, representing a selection from Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's *History* (1851-1857), two prose stories and six short songs from Natalie Curtis's *The Indian Book* (1907). An important lead penned by Dr. Spiller in the notes reads: "The Department of the Interior publishes a bibliography of Indian Legends, as well as many other bulletins on various aspects of Indian life." Between *The Cambridge History of American Literature* in 1921 and the Macmillan period anthology, *American Literature,* in 1933, Indian folk material moved from Volume IV to Volume I, though still at the back of each volume. My proposal, now, is that Indian material, as it has been recovered by Washington Matthews, C. F. Lummis, Matilda Coxe Stevenson, Natalie Curtis, Frank Cushing, Mary Austin, and others, appear in Volume I, front, under some such heading, whether prologue or not, as American Beginnings, Myths and Legends of the American Continent, Poetic Backgrounds of America. Such an introduction to the literary history of the United States of America would be more significant and more beautiful than the chronicles from which we select those first details of exploration, conquest, and settlement.

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[7] *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543,* in "Original Narratives of Early American History Series" (New York, 1907), III, 12-126.

[8] *Ibid.,* III, 281-387.

[9] Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá, *History of New Mexico* (Alcala, 1610), translated by Gilberto Espinosa (Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1933).

[10] In this respect, I take issue with the following statement by Grant C. Knight: "Virginia can claim the first poet in American literature. This was George Sandys, whose translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1626) was the earliest genuine contribution made to *belles lettres* by an adopted American" (*American Literature and Culture,* New York, 1932). Cf. also J. W. Hebbel and Hoyt H. Hudson, *Poetry of the English Renaissance* (New York, 1929), p. 1019.

The second anthology of note was *The American Mind,* edited by Professors Harry R. Warfel, Ralph H. Gabriel, and Stanley T. Williams; and here, though the first and last were professors of English, the second was a professor of history. His weight seems to have been important, for in many universities the volume is reserved in the history seminar rather than the English. In any case, the editors announce a distinctive point of view. They introduce material representing not only New England Puritans and Transcendentalists but also "Quakers, Deists, Unitarians, Methodists, Roman Catholics, Baptists, Humanists." The anthologists have tried to keep their book from deserving a label such as "The Anglo-Saxon Mind." I count a total of 245 contributors to the book, of which I was able to classify 222 as English and 23 as non-English. The Scotch and Irish were listed as English. This means about 9 per cent could be called "Non-English" including the "Aboriginal." Contributions from two Negroes and two Indians appear. So has widened the beadroll of American writers, and the list can widen still. Neither the Indian nor the Negro is adequately represented here. Spanish-American culture, in spite of new emphasis upon its importance to us, is ignored where it is closest to us: right in our own country. Challenging is the editorial description of the area from which the selections were drawn: ". . . the writings of Americans for the purpose of defining and illustrating American literary progress in relation to American intellectual progress . . . materials as will clarify changing American concepts of religion, political independence, democracy, economics, humanitarian striving, education and literary theory . . . selections from so-called subliterary books, magazines, and newspapers."[11]

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[11] *The American Mind* (New York, 1937), Preface, p. iii.

If one compares this statement with dictionary definitions of literature not many years ago, he will see how far the interpretation of literary efforts has moved from "sphere of high art" and thoughts that are "inspiring and elevating rather than merely knowledge giving." Here lies the crux of the whole matter. If writing, one of the arts closest to the aspirations of humanity, is valued primarily for its success in showing fully the folk traditions of a country in their highest form as they make for better human relationships, then the social tradition outweighs the artistic continuity of letters and even considerations of language.[12] Anything worthy in the oral and written record of the peoples who have lived where this nation has been formed becomes part of the history of national letters. I do not believe such a view will weaken the esthetic distinction of our letters but will strengthen it.

The discerning critical studies of such men as V. L. Parrington, V. F. Calverton, Granville Hicks, Van Wyck Brooks defend contemporary American criticism from preoccupation with esthetics and ivory-towerism. My complaint is that critics have not brought the same breadth of view to surveying the roots of our literature that they have brought to surveying the contemporary scene.

When the educated Indian looks in our literary histories for his long, long American poetic past, he may be amused to find it under "Non-English Writings," Volume IV, or "Folk Literature" after "The Progress of Romanticism," Volume I. When the young Spanish-American storyteller (and he is with us now) looks for the history of his tradition in American literature, he may find a blank unless he searches in regional collections where his contribution is known.

Our viewpoint has begun to mend. When new histories are written and new literary collections are compiled, they could well borrow something of the fervor with which the Italian humanist Mirandola regarded the treasures in the ancient past of his native land. If we substitute "Americanism" for "humanism" in Walter Pater's fine description of Mirandola's faith, the words can serve as a creed for the American scholar today: "For the essence of *Americanism* is that belief . . . that nothing which has ever interested living men and women can wholly lose its vitality—no language they have spoken, nor oracle beside which they have hushed their voices, no dream which has once been entertained by actual human minds, nothing about which they have ever been passionate, or expended time and zeal."[13]

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[12] See *contra,* John Macy, *The Spirit of American Literature* (New York, 1913), pp. 3-5: "Literature is a succession of books from books. Artistic expression springs from life ultimately but not immediately. . . . Every book has its literary parentage. . . . Every novel was suckled at the breasts of older novels, and great mothers are often prolific of anaemic offspring. . . . American literature is English literature made in this country. Its nineteenth-century characteristics are evident and can be analyzed and discussed with some degree of certainty. Its 'American' characteristics—no critic that I know has ever given a good account of them. You can define certain peculiarities of American politics, American agriculture, American public schools, even American religion. But what is uniquely American in American literature? . . . The American spirit in literature is a myth, like American valour in war, which is precisely like the valour of Italians and Japanese."

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[13] *The Renaissance* (London, 1890), p. 51.

AN EARLY AMERICAN UTOPIAN FICTION

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IN SPITE of various utopian experiments in America before the 1840's, few pieces of utopian fiction were written. A translation of Mercier's *Memoirs of the Year Two Thousand Five Hundred* was published in 1795,[1] but the first native American utopian fiction is generally supposed to be Mrs. Mary Griffith's anonymously published "Three Hundred Years Hence," in the volume *Camperdown* (1836).[2] "Captain Adam Seaborn's" *Symzonia,* a utopian fiction published in 1820, is, however, sixteen years earlier.[3] Perhaps *Symzonia* has not hitherto been noticed as a utopian fiction because it has been erroneously classified on the catalogue-card issued by the Library of Congress as "A burlesque on 'Symmes's Theory of Concentric Spheres.'" But it is not a burlesque; it is an earnestly written novel of adventure into the hollow earth described in Symmes's theory.[4] In fact, it seems probable that Symmes himself, quixotic crusader for polar exploration, is the author of the book.[5]

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[1] By Louis Sébastien Mercier, first published as *L'An deux mille quatre cent quarante* (Amsterdam, 1770), and in English translation (London, 1771). Translated by William Hooper and published in Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1795.

[2] This view is set forth by Nelson F. Adkins, "An Early American Story of Utopia," *Colophon,* N. S., I, 122-132 (Summer, 1935). Mr. Adkins says that "Three Hundred Years Hence" antedates "any utopian narrative written in America of which I have knowledge" (p. 123) and states that in his search for an earlier narrative he consulted "the extensive *List of References on Utopia,* published by the Library of Congress in 1922; the list of *Additional References,* published in 1926; J. O. Hertzler's *The History of Utopian Thought,* New York, 1923; and Lewis Mumford, *The Story of Utopia,* New York, 1922" (p. 123 n.). Frances Theresa Russell, *Touring Utopia* (New York: Dial Press, 1932), lists no American utopian fiction before 1836.

[3] *Symzonia: A Voyage of Discovery* (New York: J. Seymour). Lyle Henry Wright, *American Fiction, 1774-1850* (San Marino, Calif., 1939), lists copies in the following libraries: American Antiquarian Society, Boston Public, Harvard College, Huntington, Congressional, Library Company of Philadelphia, Mrs. Robert Coleman Taylor's, New York Public, New York Society, and Yale University. There is also a copy in the University of North Carolina Library.

[4] In 1818 Captain John Cleves Symmes of Ohio issued a circular to institutions of learning in Europe and America stating that the earth is hollow and open at the poles. In 1823, he petitioned Congress to send an exploring expedition to test his theory, and got twenty-five affirmative votes. With James McBride as collaborator he published in 1826 *Symmes Theory of Concentric Spheres.* Symmes believed the earth is composed of five hollow, concentric spheres, with spaces between each, and that the earth is habitable upon both convex and concave surfaces. At the North Pole, he supposed an opening four thousand miles in diameter; at the South, six thousand. The sea extends through the openings, and seals, whales, and fish pass through. Around each opening is a hoop of

The adventure of the book is designed to support Symmes's theory, but the land discovered is a utopia. Fully half of the book is a discussion of a utopian people, their economy, their political organization, and their civilization. Throughout this section of the book there are constant comparisons between life in the known world and in Symzonia, the continent discovered inside the earth; these comparisons are moralistic and reformatory—that is, utopian—in purpose.[6]

The purpose of the narrative portion of the book—the adventure—is to excite interest in Symmes's theory. Captain Seaborn is inspired to take his voyage in the belief that Symmes is right. In provisioning his ship, he says, "Least of all, did I omit Symmes's Memoirs and printed Lectures."[7] In the first stage of the voyage, to the Falkland Islands, Seaborn explains the abundance of seals by citing Symmes's theory that they come through the "icy hoop" around the polar opening; "I felt perfectly satisfied," he says, "that I had only to find an opening in the 'icy hoop' . . . to discover a region

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ice, but within the hoop the climate is mild and even hot. Ocean currents flow into the openings. Sunlight is refracted into the hollow earth because of the inclination of the poles. See John Wells Peck, "Symmes's Theory," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, XVIII, 28-42 (1909).

[5] The Library of Congress catalogues the book under "Seaborn [pseud.?]," with no reference to Symmes as author, but the Library of the University of North Carolina catalogues it under "Symmes, J. C.," and, in fact, the old card, typewritten, says nothing of "Seaborn" at all. The book was No. 3747 of those acquired by the University Library; it was apparently acquired and catalogued soon after publication, and though no record exists to show why the book was attributed to Symmes, there must have been some basis for this action. Internal evidence that would suggest Symmes himself to be the author is found not only in the fact that the adventure narrated "proves" the theory, but also in frequent references to the "sublime theory" of Symmes. In his "Advertisement" (Preface) the author states that he "availed himself of all the lights and facilities afforded by the sublime theory of an internal world, published by Captain JOHN CLEVE [*sic;* the name was Cleves] SYMMES" (p. vi).

[6] Some of the discussion is, of course, satiric, as it is in nearly all utopian fictions. In the contrasts between the external world and Symzonia, the Best Man of Symzonia fills to some extent the role of the King of Brobdingnag in *Gulliver's Travels.* Seaborn describes to him conditions in the outer world, and the Best Man is filled "with disgust and pity" (p. 149). There are passages of which the following is typical: "I spoke of our skill in arms, in hopes to excite his admiration; of the invention of gunpowder; of fleets of ships for the transportation of armies. . . . Instead of exciting his admiration, I found it difficult to convince him that my account was true, for he could not conceive it possible that beings in outward form so much like himself, could be so entirely under the influence of base and diabolical passions . . . like the most detestable reptiles" (p. 153). But on the whole, the irony is not sufficiently sustained, as in Swift's work, for *Symzonia* to be classified as primarily satiric.

[7] P. 20.

where seals could be taken as fast as they could be stripped and cured."[8] Seaborn manages to explain Symmes's theory to the reader and to argue for it by having Mr. Slim, the third mate, object to going so far to the south; Seaborn then expounds Symmes's theories concerning the temperature of the polar regions. And finally, the voyage itself demonstrates the theory, and the continent discovered in the internal world is named Symzonia in honor of Symmes.[9]

But aside from this purpose of fostering Symmes's theory, the book presents a utopian civilization and contrasts it with the civilization of the known world.

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[8] P. 30.

[9] It may be useful to summarize the action of *Symzonia.* The novel is written in the first person, by Captain Adam Seaborn. In 1817 Seaborn decides to make a voyage of exploration into South Polar regions in the hope of finding a passage to the internal world that is supposed in Symmes's theory. For this purpose, he constructs a combination sailing-vessel and steamboat, using a new type of oblique paddle that he invents. He recruits a crew for the ostensible purpose of sealing in South Polar waters. When preparations are complete, he departs for the Falkland Islands, where he stays for a while. He sails for the island of South Georgia; after passing this land, he makes to his officers and crew a guarded statement of his belief that great bodies of land lie within the Antarctic Circle and that the region is warm in summer. The third mate, Mr. Slim, is inclined to stir up a mutiny at the idea of sailing further south. At an opportune time, the mariners come to a great body of land that rivers indicate to be a continent; it is named Seaborn's Land. They proceed still farther southward; the compass behaves in a queer way; the climate is mild; nautical observations convince the crew that they have passed the South Pole and are going northward, but Seaborn is sure they are passing the rim of the polar opening into an internal world. After they are inside the hollow earth, they come to a barren island that Seaborn names Token Island. Continuing "southward" (northward, inside the earth), the crew becomes mutinous, but on a great placid sea, a sail is sighted; sailing onward, they come to an inhabited land. Seaborn names this internal continent Symzonia. He enters a harbor beside a city of beautiful white buildings. Landing, Seaborn establishes friendly communication with the Symzonians. He begins to study their language, but finds that Symzonians learn English in one week. He sees a dirigible balloon used by the Symzonians. He visits the seat of government and learns a good deal of the politics of the country, its industry, the habits of the people, etc. He learns of another internal continent, Belzubia, inhabited by evil people. He surmises that the external world was peopled by exiles from the internal. Seaborn converses at length with the Best Man (ruler) of Symzonia, and with him compares the ways of the external world and Symzonia. He learns a good deal about Symzonian manners, economics, and taxation. He learns of the flame-throwing weapon invented by the Symzonians for an ancient war with the Belzubians. The Symzonians investigate the books Seaborn has brought with him and are so horrified at what they find out about the external world that the Best Man orders Seaborn and his party to leave the country; the Best Man refuses any offer of trade. Returning to the external world, Seaborn stops at Token Island and picks up enormous quantities of sealskins taken by a party he had left there. He sails for Canton, China, and there disposes of his sealskins and takes on a cargo of Chinese goods; en route to America, an accident kills Mr. Slim and destroys the manuscripts and relics brought from Symzonia. In the United States, Seaborn places his cargo in the hands of an agent, Mr. Slippery, who manages to dispose of the cargo in such a way as to cheat Seaborn and leave him in poverty. Seaborn writes of his discovery in order to raise some money.

The people discovered on the internal continent of Symzonia are a utopian race. Small of stature, but exceedingly strong, extremely white in color, healthy, handsome, quick and tenacious of intellect, the Symzonians are primarily distinguished by their benevolence and religion. They flee into hiding when Seaborn advances onto a public square in their city, but when, to show his good intentions, Seaborn falls to his knees in an attitude of prayer, the gesture is "distinctly understood." The Symzonians advance into the square and fall to their knees and remain "absorbed in devotion for a few minutes."[10] Seaborn is then welcomed by the Symzonians, who undertake to teach him their language, but at the end of the first week, his teachers, because of their "wonderful quickness of intellect, and faithfulness of memory,"[11] are able to converse with him in good English. These people seem like "spirits of the blessed," for their appearance, manners, and conduct accord with Seaborn's most lofty "ideas of purity and goodness."[12] Cities are pleasant, gardenlike collections of gleaming, pearly houses; he finds nowhere any evidence of either display of luxury or vice and misery. "An appearance of equality in the condition and enjoyments of the people pervaded the country."[13] The "fatal sin *cupidity*" is unknown among the "uncontaminated Internals."[14] The lovely women of Symzonia are held to be the intellectual equals of the men, and "the qualities of the female mind are developed and employed"[15] without any impairment of feminine charm. In short, "The exquisite beauty of the women, the graceful dignity of the men, the chaste decorum and sincere politeness of all, charmed the mind, and delighted the heart."[16]

The economic system is an equalitarian division of labor and its products, a kind of voluntary communism, to some extent regulated (or advised) by the state, but to a greater extent operative through the industry and benevolence of the whole population. Work is light, for nature is abundant:

> . . . the labour necessary to procure all the essential comforts and rational embellishments of life, in this fruitful country, and with the temperate habits of the people, required but a small proportion of the labour which

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[10] P. 108.

[11] P. 115.

[12] P. 116.

[13] P. 118.

[14] P. 157.

[15] P. 185.

[16] Pp. 181-182.

> could be performed . . . every member of it enjoyed an abundance of the comforts of life, without excessive or constant labour.[17]

Seaborn reflects that, though conditions are harder in the external world, such a blessed condition as that of the Internals could be brought about by benevolence, "peaceful purposes," "living temperately," without the destruction of food to produce "inebriating liquors" and "narcotic substances" and their consequent "diseased appetites."[18] Among the Internals, in former days, some had been vicious, sensual, and self-indulgent; they were transported to "a land far distant to the north," and any others showing these traits—though Seaborn sees none—are transported there. The ruler of the land, the Best Man, lives in a simple house like that of other Symzonians; it is distinguished only by its "greater extent," for the Best Man has a "numerous family," and its "superior neatness and regularity" in its lovely grounds, stocked with fragrant flowers and shrubbery. "The house was literally in a bower of sweets."[19] The Internals dress all alike in simple, Greek-like robes and tunics of spotless white. For money, they use "tokens."

> These tokens are originally issued by the government, for services performed and articles supplied for the national benefit. One description represents one day's labour; a second, a standard measure of grain; a third, a small measure of pulse; a fourth, a given quantity of a particular fruit; a fifth, a measure of cloth, and so forth.[20]

Commerce is practiced not for profit, but for the distribution of goods. Any accumulation of wealth or indulgence in luxury is held to be disreputable. Taxation is a kind of universal poll tax amounting to about one day's labor for every man each year, but even this amount is reduced for men more than a hundred years old (a ripe age, even for Symzonians) and men who have young children to support.

Domestic life is simple and idyllic; Symzonians live on fruits, vegetables, milk, and honey, and cookery is only a pastime. "To arrange their basins of milk and honey, and set out their baskets of fruit for a family united in esteem and love, is a pleasurable exercise."[21] Silver is abundant; gold is more so. "Vessels of gold for domestic purposes are sometimes used by those who cannot easily procure silver."[22] The coasts are filled with pearl-bearing oysters in such abundance that "The pearls . . . are used to glaze the walls of their apartments, being dissolved in a liquid, and laid on like paint."[23]

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[17] P. 126.

[18] Pp. 129-130.

[19] P. 142.

[20] P. 161.

[21] P. 185.

Politically, Symzonia exhibits something like a cross between a benevolent dictatorship and a democracy. The Best Man (ruler), with dictatorial power (never abused), is elected for life (unless impeached), but his children are ineligible for the same office "for one generation after his decease."[24] The Best Man is advised by a small Council of one hundred Worthies, who assemble twice a year. This Council is selected from members of a Grand Council of Worthies that assembles once in four years "to admit members to their body, collect the sense of the nation on all public affairs, and aid the Best Man with their judgment in the appointment of Efficients to discharge the executive duties of the state."[25] The Best Man is elected by the unanimous vote of the Grand Council. The Worthies, an honorary order from whose numbers all officials are chosen, are of three kinds: the Good, the Wise, and the Useful. The Good are citizens whose exemplary conduct and active benevolence receive some spontaneous public approval, after which a committee of the Grand Council examines the grounds of the public opinion and recommends (or fails to recommend) that these citizens be admitted to the order of Worthies. The Wise are chosen from those whose "improvements in science, and the advancement of useful knowledge" cause them to be recommended; they must also be free from vice, though they need not be distinguished for benevolence, as the Good must be. The Useful are chosen from those whose "superior skill and diligence in their respective callings" cause them to be recommended—if they are free from vices of all kinds.[26] No man may become a Worthy in any of the three classes if the most meticulous examination of his career offers evidence that he is vain, that he seeks membership by exerting undue pressure, that he has ever been unjust to any under his orders, that he has ever courted popularity through flattery, or that he has ever been known to "infringe the rules of virtue and morality. . . . The last clause of this rule is understood to include old batchelors [*sic*]."[27] But in spite of these stringent regulations, the order of Worthies "embraced a majority of the men of mature age."[28] The Worthies are called upon in rotation to fill a place in the Council of the Best Man, and no man's name is skipped over unless he has in some way "failed to maintain the character" that obtained his admission.

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[22] P. 186.

[23] P. 193.

[24] P. 119.

[25] Pp. 119-120.

[26] See pp. 119-121.

The actual operation of government is in the hands of Efficients (a kind of civil service), "appointed by the Best Man, assisted by the Grand Council" from the group of Worthies. The Efficients are paid for their services according to the time they actually spend in work of public usefulness.

When the Grand Council assembles, all the Worthies of the nation attend in a selected district for a month; in "devotional exercises, and the interchange of visits and civilities" the consensus of all the Worthies on all sorts of topics is ascertained. At the end of the month, the Worthies appoint a committee to sit in Grand Council for another month—no longer—and to perform the necessary business, while the larger number of Worthies go to their homes. The Worthies receive no pay for their services.

All the Worthies meet once a day (and later the Grand Council assembles) in a gigantic, domed edifice called the Auditory; it is the capitol. Their meeting is opened with religious services and then with music provided by an orchestra of five hundred musicians. After the music, there are prayers, and then speakers designated by the Best Man "ascend the platform by turns and deliver their sentiments on subjects worthy the attention of so enlightened and devout an assembly. The whole is closed with music, that all may depart in harmony of thought and feeling."[29]

The foregoing utopian features represent a somewhat pietistic version of ideas found all the way from Plato to H. G. Wells—whose Samurai resemble tougher, more ascetic Worthies.

But *Symzonia* exhibits other utopian features that suggest and anticipate the instrumental utopias of the late nineteenth century. The good life is made possible partly through virtue and partly through the gifts of nature, but partly through the progress of invention. In some ways, the Symzonians are behind people of the external world in inventions; they do not have printing, and they do not have telescopes. But in other fields, they have extremely advanced instruments. Seaborn's "Advertisement" (Preface) praises Fulton's "application of steam to the navigation of vessels"[30] that makes the trip to Symzonia possible. This praise reveals the author's attitude; he believes in inventions and in the good that may come of their application when wise and benevolent use is made of them. Seaborn's ship, the *Explorer,* is fitted with a new kind of obliquely-set paddle wheels invented by Seaborn and described with some pride. In Symzonia, the Wise (the scientists) and the Useful (the artisans or engineers) are highly honored. The Symzonians possess an efficient, cylindrical, dirigible balloon, driven forward by finlike oars. Instead of woven cloth, they possess a kind of plastic made of pressed and hardened spider webs so treated that the cloth, like asbestos, will not burn. It is cleansed by being put into fire, from which it emerges shining white; "it is only necessary to pass a garment through the fire to purify it perfectly."[31] This cloth is extremely durable. The Symzonians remain at peace with their evil neighbors, the Belzubians, because they possess something like a flame-throwing tank, a "vast machine moved upon wheels . . . propelled by means of a great number of tubes projecting very obliquely through the bottom near the ground, through which air was forced with such prodigious violence, that . . . it was moved with astonishing velocity."[32] Double tubes project from all sides of this machine, and two kinds of gas may be ejected from them. "These gases, uniting at the extremities, produced a flame of intense heat . . . ejected with such force, as to consume every thing for half a mile in every direction."[33] War with the Belzubians had been unnecessary. The inventor had proclaimed: "I would show my abhorrence of war by rendering it too horrible to be encountered,"[34] and the exhibition of the machine in view of the Belzubians caused them to flee in panic. The same apprehension of attack by the Belzubians brought forth yet another mechanical invention, a new principle for driving the Symzonian ships and "accelerating their motion, by means of a number of tubes which perforated the after part of the vessel under water, through which air was forced with extreme violence by the agency of a curious engine, of which I could not obtain a particular description."[35]

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[27] Pp. 122-123.

[28] P. 125.

[29] P. 139.

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[30] P. vi.

[31] P. 160.

[32] P. 169.

[33] P. 169.

[34] P. 172.

In this description of marvelous mechanisms that help to make the utopian state possible and to defend it against enemies, *Symzonia* anticipates such intrumental utopias of the late nineteenth century as Bellamy's *Looking Backward.*

Running through the somewhat systematic description of a utopian society that has been sketched above are dispersed criticisms of trends in democracy in the young American republic. The book expresses faith in democracy as a principle, but lack of faith in some features of it. The tendency of democracy to develop capitalism through freedom of enterprise is satirized as "cupidity," the greatest of vices. Universal suffrage is disapproved of, but ownership of property is not set up as a qualification. Qualifications for rule are virtue, wisdom, and usefulness. To avoid the cross-purposes of democracy, a dictator, elected for his benevolence, should rule, with the aid of counsel and a civil service (the Efficients). Social thinking of this kind may owe something (such as the idea of equitable distribution of goods) to More and his followers, but the emphasis upon usefulness suggests some debt to the conditions of the American frontier; and the emphasis upon virtue, some debt to the circuit-riding preacher.

Symzonia is worthy of note for yet another reason. It attracted Edgar Allan Poe, and its curious theory of a hollow earth, at least, provided him with material that he probably intended to use in *Arthur Gordon Pym.* Traces of *Symzonia* are to be found in Poe's work as early as "MS. Found in a Bottle" and as late as *Eureka.*[36]

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[35] P. 210.

[36] This relationship of *Symzonia* to Poe's work was first suggested by Professor Theodore Hunt, in *Le Roman américain* (Paris, 1937), pp. 82-83. See also my article, "Sources for Poe's *Arthur Gordon Pym,* 'Hans Pfaal,' and Other Pieces," *PMLA,* LVII, 513-535 (June, 1942). Later romances, likewise, may have been influenced by *Symzonia,* if not by its utopian features, by its curious tale of a world within the earth. William Richard Bradshaw's *The Goddess of Atvatabar* (New York: Douthitt, 1892); Charles Willing Beale's *The Secret of the Earth* (London and New York: Neely, 1899); Willis George Emerson's *The Smoky God* (Chicago: Forbes, 1908); and Edgar Rice Burroughs' *Tarzan at the Earth's Core* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1929) may owe something not only to Symmes's theory of a hollow earth, but to *Symzonia.*

NOTES AND QUERIES

A NOTE ON SHERMAN KENT'S "RUSSIAN CHRISTMAS BEFORE THE MAST"

JAMES D. HART
University of California

MR. SHERMAN KENT in his article "Russian Christmas Before the Mast," printed in the January, 1942, issue of *American Literature,* contends that *Two Years Before the Mast* is not to be trusted as an accurate account of Dana's voyage to the Pacific Coast. He advances two reasons for this belief.

The first reason is that Mr. Daniel V. Gallery "with some help from Dr. James D. Hart" pointed out that *Two Years Before the Mast* contains an error in longitude for May 22, 1836. The longitude as printed in the first edition and nearly all subsequent editions is 166° 45′ W. As Mr. Gallery noted in his article, this is presumably an error for 116° 45′ W, since on May 18 the position of Dana's ship *Alert* was 113° 17′ W. Dana's recollection of the longitudes and latitudes of his ship on various dates depended on a notebook which he kept at the time. Mr. Kent, depending on Mr. Gallery's article, says: "Dana's notes on this entry, it turned out, were blurred, and instead of endeavoring to adhere closely to the fact he made a manifestly wild and incorrect guess." This is not at all in keeping with Mr. Gallery's evidence. He shows that the entry in the notebook is a clear but mistaken 106° 45′, while the corresponding figures in the manuscript of the book are obscure, possibly because Dana may have attempted to correct the 106 to 116. The obscurity caused a misreading by typesetter or proofreader. The 166 of the printed book, according to Mr. Gallery, seems to be the error of the proofreader, not Dana.

Mr. Kent, pursuing this matter further in his zealous desire to show that Dana was, as he puts it, "irresponsible," quotes from my article, "The Education of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.,"[1] and contends that I point out that Dana kept no record of longitude or latitude in the notebook from which he later came to prepare the manuscript of *Two Years Before the Mast.* Mr. Kent quotes me as saying that the notebook was kept "'in the most matter of fact manner with records of dates, *but never longitude or latitude. . . .'"* He then continues: "Italics mine. This statement naturally suggests a great many problems, chief of which is: if Dana kept no such record, are *any* of his statements of his vessel's positions assumably correct?" Had Mr. Kent quoted me in a responsible fashion he would have found that what I said was: "The small notebook, in which the original entries were made, runs to but ten leaves written on both sides in the most matter-of-fact manner, with records of dates, but never longitude or latitude (although a list of these, with dates, appears at the rear)." I obviously said that Dana did keep a record of longitudes and latitudes with dates, although he kept it in the rear rather than in the body of his notebook.

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[1] *New England Quarterly,* IX, 1 ff. (March, 1936).

The second "proof" of Dana's inaccuracy is the one that forms the excuse for Mr. Kent's article and gives it its title. Mr. Kent, quoting from *Two Years Before the Mast,* says: "The entry, 'Friday, December 25th [1835]' reads: 'This day was Christmas. . . . The Russian brig following the Old Style had celebrated their Christmas eleven days before; when they had a grand blow-out and (as our men said) drank, in the forecastle, a barrel of gin, ate up a bag of tallow, and made soup out of the skin.' "[2] Mr. Kent continues: "Now if these Russians were really on the old calendar, and if they were not hopelessly confused in their temporal whereabouts, they did not celebrate Christmas until eleven days *after* Dana. In the 1830's the Julian was eleven days *behind* not *ahead* of the Gregorian calendar.[3] And so not until Dana's calendar read January 5, 1836, did the Russians drink their barrel of gin and eat their bag of tallow." On the basis of this analysis of the passage in *Two Years Before the Mast* Mr. Kent draws a series of conclusions that lead him to suppose that all Dana's dates thereafter may be wrong and, as he puts it, "The point is that somewhere along the line he dropped a week and a half out of his life."

No, I do not think that is the point at all. It can be shown by reference to the Boston newspapers that Dana's ship *Alert* did dock in Boston on the date Dana claims and it can be shown by reference to the unofficial log of the ship (extracts appear in the Appendix of the Houghton Mifflin edition of *Two Years Before the Mast,* 1911) that Dana's account tallies with others. Mr. Kent's conclusion is far too radical. Is his interpretation of the passage in question correct? It is the interpretation most damaging to Dana's reputation for veracity and that would seem to be the kind of interpretation most desired by Mr. Kent. To impugn the accuracy of the entire book on the basis of one passage is fantastic.

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[2] This quotation is punctuated differently from Dana's text as printed in the first edition and in the Riverside Bookshelf edition copyrighted in 1911 by Houghton Mifflin. Mr. Kent has also inserted the word "out" in the last line.

[3] The Julian was twelve days behind the Gregorian calendar in the 1830's since 1800 was a leap year only in the unreformed calendar.

There is another interpretation not considered by Mr. Kent. Dana's confusion between Old and New Style is "pardonable," as even Mr. Kent admits. Dana says that the Russians had a celebration eleven days before he celebrated Christmas, that is the fourteenth by Dana's calendar. The fourteenth of December by Dana's calendar was the second of December by the Russians' calendar. Obviously the Russians were not celebrating Christmas twenty-three days ahead of time. It is more probable that Dana was wrong about the subject of their celebration than that he was wrong about its occurring before he celebrated Christmas. As Mr. Kent points out, Dana's ship left San Francisco, where it was anchored near the Russian brig, on the twenty-seventh (New Style) and so Dana could not have heard from his shipmates of the real Russian Christmas celebration, that is, he could not have been confused later on as to whether they celebrated Christmas before or after him. Could not this have been a different celebration confused by Dana with Christmas?

The celebration of Saint Nicholas of Myra, one of the feasts of the Orthodox Eastern Church, occurs on December 6 of the Old Style calendar. He is the patron saint of Russia and also the special protector of sailors. Saint Nicholas' Day is a great holiday in Russia, and it would naturally be remembered by the sailors who were particularly indebted to him. "Countless are the legends told in nearly every European country, of mariners in peril who have been saved by the timely intervention of Saint Nicholas. . . . Before the revolution disturbed the course of Russian life, not a merchantman would set sail on a voyage without an ikon of Saint Nicholas in the forward quarters of his vessel."[4] If Russian merchantmen always carried an ikon of Saint Nicholas would they not also be likely to celebrate the day on which he is honored? Perhaps the Russians of the near-by brig were celebrating Saint Nicholas' Day. That would be December 18 by Dana's New Style calendar, or seven days before Dana celebrated Christmas.[5] The celebration which Dana knew only by hearsay could well have been reported to him as being a Christmas celebration, for of St. Nicholas it is said:

> A legend of his surreptitious bestowal of doweries upon the three daughters of an impoverished citizen, who, unable to procure fit marriages for them, was on the point of giving them up to a life of shame, is said to have originated the old custom of giving presents in secret on the Eve of St. Nicholas, subsequently transferred to Christmas Day. Hence the association of Christmas with "Santa Claus," an American corruption of the Dutch form "San Nicolaas," the custom being brought to America by the early Dutch colonists.[6]

The boisterous celebration aboard the Russian brig would have been more in keeping with Saint Nicholas' Day than with Christmas. The Russians probably celebrated this holiday in the same fashion as the Dutch, of whom it has been recorded: " 'We have our holiday Christmas on the 5th and 6th of December,' said an immigrant from Holland, on being interviewed, 'because the 25th is the birthday of Christ and it is a holy day. . . . But on the 5th and 6th we have awfully good times." [7]

Dana did not pretend to have been present at the Russians' celebration and knew it only through what was told him by his shipmates.[8] It is not unlikely that some of the Americans learning that the Russians were celebrating Saint Nicholas confused this with Christmas and reported the celebration accordingly to Dana. When he tried to explain why the Russians should have celebrated Christmas a week early he may have forgotten exactly how many days before his December 25 they held their celebration and he probably used the figure of eleven days because he, like Mr. Kent, was under the illusion that in the 1830's the New and Old Style calendars differed by eleven days. Thus Dana could well have justified the matter by his general but confused knowledge of the difference in time occasioned by Old and New Style dating.[9]

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[4] W. Branch Johnson, "Santa Claus in Strange Guises," *Catholic World,* CXXXII, 267-268 (Dec., 1930).

[5] That Russian sailors in California did celebrate St. Nicholas' Day is proven by this entry from the log of an American vessel anchored in Monterey: "Thursday Decem 18—1828. . . The Russians Selebrating [*sic*] the Birth Day of St. Nicholas. At about 3 P M the [*sic*] began Fireing from the two Brigs and continued Saluteing and cheering at intervals till Sunset" ("Brig *Waverly's* Log Book," Cal. Ms. E 55, The Bancroft Library).

[6] *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.), article on "St. Nicholas," XVI, 416.

[7] Mary E. Hazeltine, *Anniversaries and Holidays* (Chicago, 1928), p. 155.

[8] The celebration on board the Russian brig may even have occurred during one of those days when Dana was away from his ship on one of the expeditions for taking in a supply of wood and water.

Mr. Kent in concluding his article suggests that Dana instead of writing in the introductory chapter to *Two Years Before the Mast* that he designed "to give an accurate and authentic narrative" should have said that he was writing a "somewhat romanticized and inevitably inaccurate story" assisted by "a small notebook of about twenty pages of long-hand jottings (some of them very rough). . . ." To document his contention that these jottings were sometimes "very rough" Mr. Kent calls attention in a footnote to my article "The Other Writings of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.," and says, "Dr. Hart calls them 'slipshod.'" I said no such thing. What I did say was: "The full story of his life after the two years before the mast is to be found in his journals, sometimes in the form of slipshod jottings, at other times in passages of great beauty." As the sentence and the context make clear, these journals to which I am referring have nothing to do with *Two Years Before the Mast* and were written *after* Dana returned from the voyage described in that book.

One more matter: anybody wishing to check Mr. Kent's references had best be careful. Mr. Kent says that Mr. Gallery's article appeared in "*Colophon,* New Graphic Series, II, 60-64 (1939)." This article will be found in *Colophon,* Volume II, New Series, Number 1 (Autumn 1936). As may be seen by the difference in dates, *Colophon's* "New Series" and "New Graphic Series" are two different matters.

[9] Dana may not even have been responsible for the "eleven days." These words are inserted in his manuscript and according to Mr. H. W. L. Dana, who has kindly sent me a photostat of this page of manuscript, they are written in a different kind of ink and possibly in a handwriting other than Dana's.

TASTE IN THE ANNUALS

BRADFORD A. BOOTH
University of California at Los Angeles

AN INDEX to the American annuals and gift books, announced in *American Literature* several years ago,[1] is now complete. Conditions arising out of the present emergency will undoubtedly delay publication of a lengthy manuscript for some years, but a listing of the major contributors and a summary of the conclusions that may be drawn relative to the state of taste in America might be of some interest now.

Although it is true that a number of annuals served the purposes of social, political, and even religious propagandists, by and large annuals were commercial publications dedicated to the proposition that to publish what Everyman wanted was a pleasant way to make a good, if not always honest, living. Those who are familiar with the brazen piracy of American publishers know that issuance of florid gift books became such a patent racket that men of conscience must have blushed to find their names as contributors. Yet among all the distinguished men of letters only Thoreau escaped interment in one of the "painted bladders."[2] The blandishments of Mrs. Sigourney, Miss Leslie, or Mrs. S. C. Egarton Mayo softened at last the most resolute heart, and the helpless author resignedly sent off his "contribution."

But in the annuals writers of established reputation were in a lonesome minority, for editors knew that even such widely admired poets as Bryant and Longfellow were too many cuts above the audience for which their books were designed. The cultural level of nineteenth-century America was shockingly low. Undergraduate students who obediently read the selections from our American literature textbooks too often get a wholly false impression of American culture. Unless warned to the contrary, they are likely to think of New England as a society of transcendental metaphysicians whose counsel of literary perfection established a discerning critical intelligence for the nation. A glance at the annuals will quickly correct that impression.

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[1] See Bradford A. Booth, "A Note on an Index to the American Annuals and Gift Books," *American Literature*, X, 349-350 (Nov., 1938).

[2] Melville and Whitman are not represented either, but both came somewhat late to be affected.

Hawthorne's well-known complaint that "America is now wholly given over to a d—d mob of scribbling women"[3] was no mere crotchety exaggeration. Of the ten names appearing most frequently in the annuals only two are those of men. And since only an armful of annuals had any literary standard other than that of popularity, the names of those whose pale talent was most often laid under contributions have real significance. Ralph Thompson, whose census of annuals and gift books I have followed in preparing the index,[4] suggested that "a complete author index . . . would show the most frequent contributors to be such as Mrs. Sigourney, Miss Hannah F. Gould, Grenville Mellen, Charles West Thomson, and Samuel G. Goodrich." All of these writers are high on the list, but Thompson forgets one whose name not only leads all the rest of the men but who among the popular writers had most talent—N. P. Willis.

Willis's 94 contributions, however, appear scarcely respectable, quantitatively speaking, beside Mrs. Sigourney's 225, and won him only fifth place on the list. "The Mrs. Hemans of America" had virtually no competitor, Hannah Gould following her at a discreet distance with 153. Third place goes to Emma Embury, who attains her exalted position, it should be remarked, by virtue of her many contributions to *American Wild Flowers.* Fourth place goes to Mrs. E. Oakes Smith, fifth to Willis, and sixth to the editress of the hearty *Rose of Sharon,* Mrs. S. C. Egarton Mayo. Seventh place goes to Mrs. C. M. Sawyer, eighth to Reynell Coates, editor of *Leaves of Memory,* and ninth to Mrs. E. F. Ellet. The last-named just noses out the top-ranking British writer—Felicia Hemans, who, incidentally, more than any other person was responsible for the spate of scribbling women. Her influence was probably the most devitalizing in American literature.

A complete list of American writers[5] whose names occur 24 or more times, together with the number of items credited to each, follows:

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[3] Caroline Ticknor, *Hawthorne and His Publisher* (Boston, 1913), p. 141.

[4] Every volume he lists is indexed, and I have added a few more that I think merit inclusion for one reason or another.

[5] Other important contributors include: Whittier 22, Harriet Beecher Stowe 20, Poe 15, Channing 12, and Irving 10.

Lydia H. Sigourney	225
Hannah F. Gould	153
Emma C. Embury	128
Elizabeth Oakes Smith	98
Nathaniel P. Willis	94
Mrs. S. C. Egarton Mayo	92
Catherine M. Sawyer	90
Reynell Coates	88
Mrs. E. F. Ellet	80
Charles West Thomson	73
Sarah Josepha Hale	72
Samuel G. Goodrich	67
Lydia Maria Child	63
William Cullen Bryant	61
Grenville Mellen	58
T. S. Arthur	56
Catherine H. Waterman Esling	53
J. G. Adams	51
Isaac McLellan	51
Eliza Leslie	50
James Nack	49
Park Benjamin	47
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	46
Horace Greeley	44
H. T. Tuckerman	43
Willis Gaylord Clark	42
Catherine M. Sedgwick	40
Charles Fenno Hoffman	40
Elizabeth Doten	40
Charles Swain	39
Mary A. Livermore	38
Charlotte Gilman	37
Anne Charlotte Lynch	36
Agnes Strickland	36
Henry Bacon	35
John Pierpont	35
William B. Tappan	34
Mary Ann H. Dodd	33
Nathaniel Hawthorne	33
J. O. Sargent	32
Mrs. Hughs	30
Geraldine Jewsbury	30
Charles W. Everest	29
W. Gilmore Simms	29
Mrs. L. J. B. Case	27
James G. Percival	27
A. A. Phillips	27
Mary E. Lee	26
Nancy T. Munroe	26
Mrs. Erskine Norton	26
Ralph Waldo Emerson	25
Oliver Wendell Holmes	25
B. B. Thatcher	25
James Russell Lowell	24
James Kirke Paulding	24

Of equal significance is the group of English writers either solicited for new work or reprinted. Keats is virtually unknown, Coleridge and Shelley[6] only slightly less so. Even Scott, Wordsworth, and Byron must give way to writers whose names are not to be found even in the most detailed literary histories. Who today knows Maria Abdy, a niece of James and Horace Smith? She appears in the annuals 65 times, and only Felicia Hemans seems to have been better known to American readers. There are 51 items by Mary Howitt, but by William Blake not a line! Laetitia E. Landon appears 49 times, Browning twice! Mrs. S. C. Hall appears 40 times, Southey not at all! The most rational judgment is shown in the choice of Mary Russell Mitford as favorite storyteller. She is represented in 48 selections. Among the older writers a few surprising inclusions, such as Henry Vaughan and William Collins, serve only to accent the many irrational exclusions and such freakish judgment as that of giving Cowper wide preference over Burns.

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[6] Mary Shelley was better known than her husband. She appears 16 times to Shelley's 12. Similarly, Elizabeth Barrett Browning was more popular than Robert Browning.

A complete list of English authors represented by more than 25 items and a selected list of other names follows:

Felicia Hemans	79	Richard Monckton Milnes	20
Maria Abdy	65	Wordsworth	20
Mary Howitt	51	Thomas Moore	19
Laetitia E. Landon	49	Scott	19
Mary Russell Mitford	48	Thomas Hood	18
James Montgomery	47	Milton	17
Mrs. S. C. Hall	40	Tennyson	17
Barry Cornwall	38	Harriet Martineau	16
John Bowring	32	David Macbeth Moir	16
Mary A. Browne	32	Cowper	15
Thomas Dale	32	Coleridge	13
Bernard Barton	30	Burns	9
T. K. Hervey	29	John Clare	9
Byron	21	Dryden	9
John Keble	21	Keats	5

Mere numbers, however, do not tell the whole story. Of greater point, particularly in the reprinted material, is the quality of the work selected. The future historian of American taste will find in the annuals the substance of one of his important chapters.

DID MELVILLE REVIEW *THE SCARLET LETTER?*

WILLARD THORP
Princeton University

THE LEGEND that Melville was the author of the review of *The Scarlet Letter* in the issue of the Duyckincks' *Literary World* for March 30, 1850, is rapidly attaining the status of a fact in Melville scholarship. Before this review is again alluded to as Melville's, the legend should be challenged, for, so far as I know, there is no evidence to support such an ascription, and there is some evidence to refute it.

The soil from which the legend has grown would seem to be a statement from J. E. A. Smith's *Taghconic: The Romance and Beauty of the Hills* (Boston, 1879), which Weaver quotes in his biography of Melville: "But there can be no wrong in mentioning the origin, as I have heard it, of the brotherly friendship between [Hawthorne] and Herman Melville. As the story was told me, Mr. Hawthorne was aware that Melville was the author of a very appreciative review of *The Scarlet Letter* which appeared in the Literary World, edited by their common friends, the Duyckincks. . . ."[1] The legend next appears in Minnigerode's collection of Melville letters, the source which several subsequent transmitters have quoted as their authority. Minnigerode writes: "Melville published a number of book reviews in *The Literary World,* notably of Cooper's *Sea Lions,* Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter,* Parkman's *Oregon Trail,* and a new edition of Cooper's *Red Rover.*"[2]

Miss Louise Hastings, in her article "The Hawthorne-Melville Friendship," passes the legend on and even adds to it some conjectures of her own.[3] She says: "At least two other criticisms of Hawthorne's works [beside the *Mosses* review] have been attributed to Melville. According to Freeman an 'astonishingly fervid appreciation' of *The Scarlet Letter* and a review of *Twice-Told Tales* were published in the *Literary World.* A third piece, a criticism of *The House of the Seven Gables,* also could be Melville's, containing as it does a direct reference to Ahab and an analysis of characters similar to a discussion of them in an undated letter to Hawthorne written about this time."[4] In the first place, Miss Hastings misinterprets Freeman, who actually wrote: "Melville had been drawn to Hawthorne's genius before he met him, and had written an astonishingly fervid appreciation of *The Scarlet Letter, Twice-Told Tales* and *Mosses from an Old Manse,* for the

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[1] R. M. Weaver, *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic* (New York, 1921), p. 314.

[2] Meade Minnigerode, *Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville* (New York, 1922), p. 30.

[3] In H. H. Carter and Frank Davidson, *A Reader for Writers* (Boston, 1938), pp. 241-242.

[4] Evidence given below in this note shows that the *Seven Gables* review was actually written by Evert Duyckinck. Miss Hastings adds still another conjecture, that Melville wrote the review of *The Blithedale Romance* in the *Literary World* of July 24, 1852. She makes no attempt to prove this conjecture correct.

Literary World."[5] Though his words are slightly misleading, Freeman is referring only to the *Mosses* article, in the course of which Melville digresses for a paragraph to mention *The Scarlet Letter* and *Twice-Told Tales*. He does not, as Miss Hastings believes, ascribe separate reviews of these books to Melville.

The legend of *The Scarlet Letter* review has of late taken firm root abroad. Walter Weber's Basel dissertation of 1937 lists the supposititious review with the authentic reviews by Melville of *Sea Lions* and the *Mosses*.[6] In the same year K. H. Sundermann in his *Herman Melvilles Gedankengut* gave new strength to Melville's supposed claim to the review by reprinting the whole of it in his appendix, along with other reviews from the *Literary World* (the authentic *Oregon Trail* and *Sea Lions* notices which were also not accessible in Germany).[7] Two important discussions of Sundermann's book have remarked on the inclusion of these reviews, but have not questioned his ascription of *The Scarlet Letter* review to Melville.[8] The fabulous tree is beginning to put forth branches.

The weight of the evidence is decidedly against Melville's having written this legendary review. In the first place, the tone of the reviewer is that of a writer long familiar with Hawthorne's work, whereas Melville's essay on *Hawthorne and His Mosses*, published five months later,[9] makes a point of the fact that the writer has just discovered Hawthorne's qualities. He confesses that he had previously missed the enchanting landscape in the soul of Hawthorne and has only a day or two since come on the beauties of the *Mosses*, though the book has been "written now four years."

In the second place, Hawthorne's letter to E. A. Duyckinck thanking him for the notice of *The House of the Seven Gables* in the *Literary World* for April 26, 1851, implies, at least, that Duyckinck was also the author of the earlier *Scarlet Letter* review. The pertinent parts of that letter read as follows: "I recognize in it (as so often before) the kindly purpose to see what is best, and to present the sunny side of Justice. It appears to me that you like the book better than the Scarlet Letter; and I certainly think it a

[5] John Freeman, *Herman Melville* (London, 1926), p. 51.

[6] *Herman Melville: eine stilistische Untersuchung* (Basel, 1937), pp. ix and 195.

[7] Berlin, 1937, pp. 189-192.

[8] William Braswell in *American Literature*, X, 106 (March, 1938); and Jean Simon in *Revue de littérature comparée*, XIX, 344 (April-June, 1939).

[9] *Literary World*, VII, 125-127, 145-147 (Aug. 17 and 24, 1850).

more natural and healthy product of my mind, and felt less reluctance in publishing it. I cannot quite understand why everything that I write takes so melancholy an aspect in your eyes. As regards this particular story, I really had an idea that it was rather a cheerful one than otherwise. . . ."[10] In connection with Hawthorne's complaint that everything he writes takes a melancholy aspect in Duyckinck's eyes, it should be noted that *The Scarlet Letter* review remarks on the Hawthornean gloom: "There is another Hawthorne less companionable, of sterner Puritan aspect, with the shadow of the past over him, a reviver of witchcrafts and of those dark agencies of evil which lurk in the human soul, and which even now represent the old gloomy historic era in the microcosm and eternity of the individual; and this Hawthorne is called to mind by such tales as the Minister's Black Veil or the Old Maid in the Winding Sheet, and reappears in the Scarlet Letter, a romance."[11]

That *The Scarlet Letter* review in the *Literary World* was the work of Evert A. Duyckinck there can be little doubt. Dr. Bertha Faust, who has apparently not encountered this legend of Melville's authorship, ascribes it to Duyckinck.[12] It would be a dull ear, I think, which could mistake the conventional ideas, the prim editorial sentences, the reference to the moral which though "severe" is "wholesome," for the bold extravagances of style which Melville did not doff even when he wrote book notices for the *Literary World.*

OSSIAN IN AMERICA: A NOTE

LEWIS LEARY
Duke University

SEVERAL YEARS ago Mr. Frederic I. Carpenter, in his article "The Vogue for Ossian in America: A Study in Taste," told us that "the first attempt to versify the rhythmic prose of Macpherson's 'translation' was published by Joseph Brown Ladd in his *Poems of Arouet,* at Charleston, the subject being 'The Battle between Swaran and Cuchullin.' "[1] Although a correction does in no

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[10] This letter, of April 27, 1851, is in the Duyckinck Collection of the New York Public Library.

[11] *Literary World,* VI, 323 (March 30, 1850).

[12] *Hawthorne's Contemporaneous Reputation* (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 69-70.

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[1] *American Literature,* II, 409 (Jan., 1931).

manner invalidate the conclusions drawn by Mr. Carpenter, it is perhaps worth noting that Ladd published a poetic adaptation of Ossian a year before the publication of the *Poems* in August, 1786.[2] On July 27, 1785, "Connal and Cremora, An Heroic Elegy," which Ladd naïvely pretended was "translated from the Gaelic of the celebrated Ossian," appeared in the Charleston *Columbian Herald* over the signature "Arouet." It was followed on September 28 by "Ossian's Celebrated Battle: Translated from Fingal"; on October 19 by an "Ode to the Spirit of Ossian"; on May 15, 1786, by a "Hymn to the Sun. Translated from Ossian"; on June 12, 15, 22, 26, and 29 by the longer "The Battle between Swaran and Cuchullin Translated from Fingal"; and on August 31, September 4 and 7 by "The Songs of Selma. From Ossian."[3] It is interesting in relation to twenty-one-year-old Dr. Ladd's ambition to be known as a cultured young man of letters that in none of these poems does he mention an English model. He was apparently rather glad to have readers imply that he, Ladd, had access to an original Gaelic text.

[2] The Charleston *Columbian Herald* announced on Aug. 14, 1786, that the *Poems of Arouet* were, after months of delay, "now published and ready for delivery." For an exposition of the later years of the poet, see the present writer's "A Forgotten Charleston Poet: Joseph Brown Ladd" in the current (October) issue of *Americana*.

[3] Other verses by Ladd in the *Columbian Herald* which undoubtedly were composed under the influence of Ossian are the "Runic Ode," Aug. 17, and the "Runic Ode. The Poet Addresses the Ghost of his Friend," Oct. 26, 1785.

A NEWLY-DISCOVERED CHARLESTON PERIODICAL

GUY A. CARDWELL, JR.
The Tulane University of Louisiana

AN EARLY serial published in Charleston, South Carolina, one which has not hitherto been mentioned by the antiquarians, historians, or bibliographers, deserves brief notice and description. The *Charleston Spectator, and Ladies' Literary Port Folio,* published in 1806, is the newly-discovered periodical.[1]

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[1] For a list of the ante-bellum Charleston periodicals, see William Stanley Hoole, *A Check-List and Finding-List of Charleston Periodicals, 1732-1864* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1936). See also Guy A. Cardwell, Jr., "Charleston Periodicals, 1795-1860: A Study in Literary Influences, with a Descriptive Check List of Seventy-five Magazines" (unpublished dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1936).

Five periodicals other than newspapers appeared earlier than the *Charleston Spectator:* the *Traiteur* (1795-1796); the *South-Carolina Weekly Museum* (1797-1798); the *Vigil*

One incomplete issue of this miscellany has recently been acquired by the Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, of the Tulane University of Louisiana.[2] The serial was obviously a playful enterprise, engaged in by gentlemen who were not seeking financial reward. The facts of publication are as follows: The pseudonymous editors, "Goggles, Spectacles, & Co.," published an eight-page issue "every Saturday," beginning, apparently, on June 21, 1806, and continuing at least for five numbers, through July 19. "J. Hoff, Number 6 Broad-Street," was the printer. The price was set at "Four Dollars per annum, payable Quarterly in Advance." The pages (which are divided into three columns) are twenty-nine centimeters by twenty-two centimeters.

No advertisement for the periodical appeared in the *Charleston Courier* for 1806; but an advertisement did appear in another daily newspaper, the *Times,* beginning on June 10 and continuing through Friday, June 20. It seems that a previous advertisement, distributed in the form of handbills, had been of a humor so equivocal that many possible subscribers took the proposal to be a hoax. The advertisement in the *Times,* itself whimsical enough, sought to convince the public of the editors' intention to publish. It reads, in part:

> The Printer to the Editors.
>
> Gentlemen,
>
> The constant inquiry for these several days past has been—Is the Charleston Spectator out? Is the Ladies' Weekly Paper printed? Are the propoled [*sic*] Editors in earnest, &c?
>
> The Editors think proper to ask the Printer, does the Subscription Lists [*sic*] justify the publication? No [.] I distributed, agreeable to order, sixteen hundred proposals in the City—But: But what, sir? Why, sir, some say you are only Quizzing the Public with your odd names; others observe that you never contemplated such a Publication, or you

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(1798); the *Sociable Magazine and Quarterly Intelligencer* (1803-1804), no copies of which are known; and the *Monthly Register and Review of the United States* (1805-1807).

[2] The incomplete issue consists of pages 33-34 and 39-40 of the fifth number. It was presented to the Library by Mrs. William Porcher Miles together with a collection of about 750 volumes, all drawn from the library of her late husband's father, General William Porcher Miles. General Miles (1822-1899) had a varied and distinguished career. He was at one time Mayor of Charleston, at another President of the University of South Carolina. He was both a United States and a Confederate States congressman. From 1882 until his death, he made his home at Houmas House, in Ascension Parish, about fifty miles above New Orleans.

> would have made choice of a more engaging firm [.] Let not such a misconception deter the liberal Citizens of Charleston; order out a Herald, and let our friends be undeceived; go from house to house, and say to them, the "Charleston Spectator" is positively to be published. . . .
>
> . . . As soon, therefore, as a sufficient number of Subscribers are obtained to equal the expenses occurring in its publication, it will be put to press.

The "sufficient number of Subscribers" was soon obtained, for the first issue of the miscellany must have been distributed on Saturday, June 21, the day after the last appearance of the above advertisement. Issues followed regularly through July 19, for the last page of the issue of that date is numbered *forty,* the proper folio for the last page of the fifth issue, provided that all were of eight pages. Remembering the short lives of similar publications in Charleston, one judges that the *Charleston Spectator* did not flourish for many weeks.

Space is not available to quote illustrative excerpts, but one may describe the serial by saying that it fits comfortably into its place among the early periodicals of Charleston. Like serials which preceded it (particularly the *Traiteur* and the *Vigil*), it follows closely in the tradition of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator.* Among the points which mark it as in this tradition one may note the title of the periodical, the pseudonyms of the editors and contributors, letters and pseudo letters from contributors, the heading of the leading essay in the preserved issue as "From Mount Parnassus," and the numbering of another essay as one of a series (thus extending, as was common, into the miscellany a suggestion of the single-essay periodical). One notes also corrective satire, an emphasis on manners and morals, epigrammatic verse, and what was meant to be Addisonian prose.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF FRANCIS HOPKINSON TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

ALBERT FRANK GEGENHEIMER
University of Arizona

WHEN Francis Hopkinson published his *Seven Songs for the Harpsichord or Forte Piano* in 1788, he dedicated the collection to George Washington and the volume contained an extremely formal letter addressed to the great man.[1] In the course of his investigations into the music of Francis Hopkinson and into Hopkinson's claim to be regarded as the first American composer, O. G. Sonneck discovered in the Hopkinson papers which are still in the possession of the Hopkinson family of Philadelphia a letter from Washington to Hopkinson referring to the *Seven Songs.*[2] The light and almost bantering tone of Washington's letter, as well as numerous references to statements not included in the formal letter of dedication, make it apparent that Washington's was not a reply to that formal letter. Sonneck concluded that "evidently Washington is alluding to a letter which accompanied Hopkinson's 'Seven Songs' " and was forced to add, "I have not been able to locate this letter."[3]

The letter which Hopkinson wrote to Washington has now been found. It is located in the Autograph Collection of Simon Gratz, at present in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:[4]

Philad^{a}. Dec^{r}. 1st. 1788 —

Dear Sir,

There is all the Difference in the World between a Thing *done,* & a Thing *to be done.* A Thing *to be done* is exposed, like our new Constitution, to all Manner of Criticisms, Objections, Oppositions, Reasonings true & false, with Arguments & Apprehensions founded on future Consequences, possible and impossible. On the Contrary, a Thing *done,* unless it is a very bad thing indeed, is not only generally admitted, but often even zealously supported, beyond its real Merits—The Tide of Prejudice flows in its Favour—

Had I asked your permission to compose, & dedicate to you a Book of Songs, you would, probably, have said—'Your Scheme is full of Inconsistency—You are neither a Poet nor a Musician, & yet you would write Verses & set them to Music—and you would dedicate your Work to me, knowing that I can neither play Musick nor sing Songs—you certainly mean that we should both be laugh'd at"—To which I should then reply—1st. "If no Authors had ever written but on such subjects as they thoroughly understood, our Libraries would be but small. Upon a moderate Calculation, I suppose that one fourth of our Systems of Philosophy, one half of the physical & medical Authors, three fourths of the learned Writers in polemick Divinity & not one of the numerous metaphysical Enquirers, had made their appearance in the World—And 2d[*ly*] If no Works can with Propriety be dedicated to you but on such Subjects in which you are yourself a Master, the sooner you employ Tutors to instruct you in *every Branch* of human Learning the better—you have no Time to loose—for I foresee Crowds of American Authors on all Subjects, Projectors, Schemers & Contrivers, presenting their Works to your Notice & honouring them with your Name"—I say, such would be my answer *then*—My apology *now* is much shorter—The thing *is done*—I have composed the Songs, I have set them to Musick, & I have dedicated them to you. And, therefore, instead of objecting to, we had better join in defending the Measure as well as we can—

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[1] Francis Hopkinson, *Seven Songs for the Harpsichord or Forte Piano* (Philadelphia, 1788), p. iii. A facsimile of this page was given in the program of "An Evening of Music of the Colonial Period, including Songs by Francis Hopkinson," presented by the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on November 12, 1919. It is printed by George E. Hastings, *The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson* (Chicago, 1926), pp. 441-442.

[2] Hopkinson Papers, II, 106. Photostatic copies of this collection have been deposited in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The letter is printed by Sonneck in his monograph on Hopkinson, *Francis Hopkinson, the First American Poet-Composer (1737-1791) and James Lyon, Patriot, Preacher, Psalmodist (1735-1794): Two Studies in Early American Music* (Washington, 1905), p. 114. It is also printed by Hastings, *op. cit.,* pp. 443-444. A facsimile is given in the program of the Colonial Dames.

[3] Sonneck, *loc. cit.*

[4] The courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in permitting the publication of this letter is gratefully acknowledged.

These Songs were composed occasionally for the Use of my Daughters, without any View to Publication. When I found they had accumulated to 7 or 8 Songs, I thought of publishing them, from an ambition of being recognized as the first Citizen of the United States who had produced a Work of this kind—And I dedicated my Work to you, because I love and respect you—And this is the Truth, the whole Truth, & nothing but the Truth so help me Apollo & the Nine Muses.

With my best Regards to Mrs Washington
I am Dear Sir
Your sincerely affectionate
Friend & humble Servant
Fras Hopkinson

Genl. Washington

The possession of both sides of this interesting correspondence affords insight into the character of each of the writers. Surely few persons could have written to George Washington in 1788 in the vein which Hopkinson employed, and probably no other person could have elicited the same jovial response from Washington. The discovery of Hopkinson's letter makes clear much that was previously vague in Washington's letter, including references to "your distinction between 'a thing *done* and a thing *to be done.*' "

PERFORMANCES OF BRONSON HOWARD'S *THE AMATEUR BENEFIT*

THOMAS F. MARSHALL
Valley Forge Junior College

THERE CAN be no doubt as to the authenticity of the recently discovered typescript of Bronson Howard's *The Amateur Benefit.* The facts about its production and subsequent history, however, as stated by Professor Halline,[1] need some sifting and correction.

The stage of the Park Theatre, Brooklyn, was occupied January 9-14, 1882, by a production of *Faun of the Glen: or The Civilized Indian,* which featured Nate Salsbury's Troubadors.[2] The same play and company was announced on January 16 in the Philadelphia *North American* as being the attraction at the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, for the following week, and Howard was said to be the author. In a review of the play on the following day the assertion concerning the authorship is repeated. That this play is the recently discovered piece is without question. The Philadelphia *Press* for January 17, 1882, describes the plot in these words:

> A few young people, presumably belonging in some way to a church of some kind, conceive the idea of giving an amateur performance for the benefit of the missionary fund of said church. They employ a professional to manage the business for them. In the rehearsal of the play selected the parlor of the ladies' residence is used, and the first act ends with a lover's quarrel. The second rehearsal takes place at the theater, when the first act is repeated, and the second act ends with a reconciliation. The third and last act is supposed to be the performance of "Faun of the Glen" which is said to be a satire on the Government's Indian policy. . . .

Despite the addition of "airs from Il Trovatore, The Mascotte and other operas . . ."[3] the play was a complete failure, and was taken off after the second night.

But the company was not to be discouraged. Under the new title of *Fun in a Green Room,* it was presented at Booth's Theatre,

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[1] *American Literature,* XIV, 74-76 (March, 1942).

[2] George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage,* XI (New York, 1939), 606.

[3] *North American,* Jan. 17, 1882.

New York, April 10-16, 1882. Professor Odell writes: "Bronson Howard's comic piece Green Room Fun, brought in, on April 10th, Salsbury's Troubadors, with John Webster as Captain Opdyke, U.S.A., John Gourlay as Reverend Ernest Duckworth, Nate Salsbury as Booth McC. Forrest, Nellie McHenry as Kittie Plumpet and Ray Samuels (Mrs. Nate Salsbury) as the young widow, Mrs. Camilla Westlake. The gist of the piece consisted in the rehearsal by these characters of an amateur show—always a funny theme."[4] The names of the characters here mentioned by Professor Odell are identical with those of the typescript, and also agree with the cast of *Faun of the Glen*.[5]

The play, then, was produced, but not as *The Amateur Benefit*. The title by which it was finally known appears in *A History of the American Drama from the Civil War to the Present Day* by A. H. Quinn,[6] but the discovery of a copy of the original play, and the above details of production history will complete the record. It was a play of which Mr. Howard was evidently not proud, and the conclusion which one must draw from contemporary criticism is that Salsbury's troupe had more than a little to do with its continuous popularity.

CONSERVATION OF SCHOLARLY JOURNALS

The American Library Association created this last year the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, headed by John R. Russell, the Librarian of the University of Rochester. The Committee is faced with numerous serious problems and hopes that American scholars and scientists will be of considerable aid in the solution of one of these problems.

One of the most difficult tasks in library reconstruction after the first World War was that of completing foreign institutional sets of American scholarly, scientific, and technical periodicals. The attempt to avoid a duplication of that situation is now the concern of the Committee.

Many sets of journals will be broken by the financial inability of the institutions to renew subscriptions. As far as possible they will be completed from a stock of periodicals being purchased by the Committee. Many more will have been broken through mail difficulties and loss of shipments, while still other sets will have disappeared in the destruction of libraries. The size of the eventual demand is impossible to estimate, but requests received by the Committee already give evidence that it will be enormous.

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[4] Odell, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

[5] Thomas F. Marshall, *A History of the Philadelphia Theatre, 1878-1890* (University of Pennsylvania Microfilm, 1941), p. 216.

[6] *Fun in a Green Room*, p. 362.

With an imminent paper shortage attempts are being made to collect old periodicals for pulp. Fearing this possible reduction in the already limited supply of scholarly and scientific journals, the Committee hopes to enlist the co-operation of subscribers to this journal in preventing the sacrifice of this type of material to the pulp demand. It is scarcely necessary to mention the appreciation of foreign institutions and scholars for this activity.

Questions concerning the project or concerning the value of particular periodicals to the project should be directed to Wayne M. Hartwell, Executive Assistant to the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized, through the year 1943, a joint-subscription rate of $7.20 for *PMLA* and *American Literature.* All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

The Duke University Press offers to students (graduate and undergraduate) who wish to subscribe to *American Literature* a special subscription price of $2.00 a year. Subscriptions must be accompanied by an endorsement from the instructor in charge of the student's work in American Literature. Blanks may be secured from the Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

J. B. H.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

George Washington Cable: A Critical Biography. Griffith Thompson Pugh (Vanderbilt).

The Writings and Personality of Stephen Crane. John C. Bushman (Illinois).

Calvinism and Mysticism in Jonathan Edwards. Gerhard Alexis (Minnesota).

Emerson and the English Platonists. Mary Turpie (Minnesota).

A Critical Biography of DuBose Heyward. James T. Parker (Pennsylvania).

Herman Melville's *Pierre*. Ethel-Mae Haave (Yale).

The Influence of New England History and Legend on the Writings of Henry David Thoreau. Laurence Willson (Yale).

Wordsworth and the American Romantics. Mary Culhane (Minnesota).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

A Critical Survey of Selected Short Stories in the *Saturday Evening Post,* 1903-1938. Louise Shoup (Stanford).

English Grammar in American Schools, 1890-1942. Vera E. Fawcett (George Peabody).

The Folklore and Folkways of Cannon County, Tennessee. Robert Mason (George Peabody).

The Influence of the Immigrant on American Fiction, 1890-1925. Elwood Lawrence (Western Reserve).

Nationalism in American Prose Fiction to 1830. William Willer (Minnesota).

The Portrayal of the College and of College Life in American Novels, 1932-1942. Robert C. Lee (George Peabody).

The Reception and Use of Freudian Psychology in England and America, 1920-1935—With Especial Emphasis upon the Novels of Joyce, Lawrence, Sherwood Anderson, and Frank. Frederick J. Hoffman (Ohio State).

Social Reform in Southern Thought, 1865-1914. Robert Little Darden (Texas, American History and Literature).

The Southern Frontier in American Fiction. Ella Litchfield (Minnesota).

III. Dissertations Completed:

The Advance Guard: A Chapter in the History of the American Little Magazines, 1912-1942. Charles A. Allen (Iowa, 1942).

The American Interest in European Democracy: A Study of the Literary Reaction to the Revolutions of 1848. Dorothy Fowkes Lucker (Texas, 1942).

Baptist Beginnings in Western Pennsylvania. James Allie Davidson (Pittsburgh, History, 1941).

The Correspondent in the West, 1850-1860. Thomas E. Tweito (Iowa, History, 1939).

Edwin Percy Whipple: A Biography. Leishman A. Peacock (Pennsylvania State, 1942).

George and Sophia Ripley: A Biographical Study. Lisette Riggs (Maryland, 1942).

Georgia Literary Periodicals to 1865. Bertram Holland Flanders (Duke, 1942).

German Backgrounds of American Transcendentalism: Prolegomena to the Study of Influence. John Henry Christopher Groth (University of Washington, 1941).

J. M. L. Curry—a Biography. Richard C. Peck (George Peabody, 1942).

John C. Calhoun: Speaker. Herbert L. Curry (Iowa, Speech, 1941).

Louis Freeland Post: His Life and Times. Stuart Portner (Michigan, History, 1941).

Melville's Philosophical Thought after 1851. Ben Drew Kimpel (North Carolina, 1942).

Music in Colonial Philadelphia, 1664-1776. Hazel Gertrude Kinscella (University of Washington, Music, 1941).

Oberlin College, 1833-1866. Robert Samuel Fletcher (Harvard, History, 1939).

O. Henry: A Critical Biography. E. Hudson Long (Pennsylvania, 1942).

Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda. John Chester Miller (Harvard, History, 1939).

The Social Attitudes and Convictions of James Russell Lowell during His First Creative Period, 1838-1851. Frank M. Hursley (Minnesota, 1942).

Studies in the Works of Ellen Glasgow. Blair Rouse (Illinois, 1942).

A Study of the Writings of an American Magazinist: J. T. Trowbridge. William Wayne Griffith (Pittsburgh, 1941).

The Journals of Charles King Newcomb. Judith Kennedy (Brown, 1942).

IV. Other Research in Progress:

Janna Burgess, University of Washington, has completed a study of the influence of Elias Hicks on Walt Whitman. The interest of Emerson and Thoreau in Quaker philosophy as expounded by Hicks is indicated also.

David Palmer Edgell, 1078 Park Avenue, Schenectady, New York, is engaged on a biography of Horatio Greenough and would appreciate learning of any unpublished material concerning him.

E. H. O'Neill, English Department, University of Pennsylvania, under a grant from the American Philosophical Society, is editor of the Bibliography of American Literature formerly sponsored by the Historical Records Survey, W.P.A., and the University of Pennsylvania. The bibliography, still in progress, has more than a million cards catalogued or filed and available on cards or microfilm to investigators in American literature through correspondence with Mr. O'Neill or visits to the campus.

Raymond Adams, *Assistant Bibliographer.*

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

BOOK REVIEWS

WALT WHITMAN: *Poet of Democracy.* By Hugh I'Anson Fausset. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1942. 320 pp. $3.00.

Working entirely from published sources, Mr. Fausset makes no attempt to add to our knowledge of the facts of Whitman's life or works. There are, indeed, a few misstatements in the presentation of the facts given. This may be due to the circumstance that, despite the publisher's assertion on the jacket, Mr. Fausset's bibliography shows that he has not read "every scrap that Whitman wrote," much less all the significant criticism and biography. Some of the ideas here advanced were anticipated in books that he did not read. (It is only fair to add that the manuscript was completed in 1940, since which date very pertinent facts have come to light.) His belief that Whitman looked upon all art as artificiality (p. 133) and that his style can be adequately described in Professor Perry's adjective "declamatory" (p. 98) would certainly have been modified had he been acquainted with the studies of Whitman's prosody made by Professors Gay Allen and Sculley Bradley. A more scholarly critic would have read Dr. Clara Barrus's *Whitman and Burroughs: Comrades* before attempting to determine the proportion of masculine and feminine elements in the poet's admittedly bisexual nature. On the other hand, Mr. Fausset does well to follow the excellent argument in Professor Arvin's *Whitman* made in reply to Professor Mark Van Doren's summary dismissal of Whitman's democratic doctrine on the ground that he, being a homosexual, was not himself a representative man; he might well have followed Arvin still further than he does in avoiding the critical fallacy of confusing the man with the writer.

Yet Mr. Fausset does accept the theory that Whitman was simply a homosexual, and he makes this "inward division" in the poet's nature the basis, first, of the lack of integration in his personality and, second, the lack of significance, for mature readers, in his poetry and prophetic message. Whitman's "super-egotism" only convicts itself of escapism when it attempts to include in its epic "I" the average man, whom the poet cannot really understand. Thus Whitman is not allowed to have an organic art, for the author holds that organic art flows only from an integrated personality (*The Modern Dilemma,* 1930, p. 63); and to deny that Whitman ever had such inward wholeness, despite his "deep magnetic fount of power and peace" (p. 79), has been Mr. Fausset's basic contention. When Whitman glorifies paternity he is seeking a Freudian "compensation in words for a sense of inadequacy of fact" (p. 144); yet when it suits the author's theory he uses Whitman's words as his only means of establishing the fact. Sometimes he makes assertions which no biographer can prove; even if Whitman were a simple homosexual, one cannot say he never had carnal relations with women. After all, Whitman's children have been disposed of only by inference. Until Whitman retracts the word "delicious" in the very passage describing the mental and physical sensations of sexual contact which Mr. Fausset selects to prove that such contaet was "agonizing" to the poet, a more discriminating dictum is called for. Sometimes Whitman's protean form strains the critical straitjacket into which Mr. Fausset has been rather felicitous in thrusting less original poets. We are told, on a priori grounds, that Whitman was drawn to the life of the average American "as a corrective to his own abnormality" (p. 93). If so, this act of adjustment must be credited to Whitman's attempt to rise above his limitation; but later we are informed that Edward Carpenter because of *his* homosexual tendencies (p. 259) was drawn to the "stronger but cruder personality of Whitman," which would seem, by the same argument, to make Whitman now the average man. So with other Freudian guesses. Whitman is cursed with an Oedipus complex which, together with his homosexuality, made it impossible for him to reconcile in his nature the woman's passivity, acceptance, and ability to suffer for others with the man's will to act and come to grips with the world within and without. Such a synthesis, Mr. Fausset holds, could be accomplished only by an orthodox "second birth" and by creative imagination. Whitman, with his Quaker and Transcendental leanings, will not of course become an orthodox Christian, any more than he will be a pacifist, a modern socialist, or a conventional poetic artist; and until he does he would seem to have little chance with Mr. Fausset's type of evaluation. But if his whole poetic career does not show both interpretive and creative imagination, the generation of an epic concept, as well as the masculine will to overcome all opposition in publishing his vision of a new humanity, then a great deal of newsprint has been wasted in trying to explain that influence upon thinkers, artists, and a growing number of average readers which led a more realistic Englishman, Mr. Arnold Bennett, to declare that Whitman was one of the greatest teachers that ever lived.

Mr. Fausset is an excellent critic and writes well (if only he would give up such cant phrases as "unredeemed nature," which runs through the book), as his long record amply attests. But believing that "no great poem was born of a divided being," he cannot consistently couple his analysis of Whitman's frustration with very high praise of his poetry. To take a fair example: while he allows that there is "no nocturne like" the elegy on Lincoln, "it flows too loosely perhaps quite to deserve the superlative" (p. 201). Had Mr. Fausset studied the influence of music on Whitman and of Whitman on music, he could not have missed the almost perfect rondo structure of the poem. Committed to the belief that Whitman is unable "to marry the thing with the idea," he finds that "Proud Music of the Storm" has "degenerated into a crude descriptive catalogue" (p. 237), though Carl Van Doren has pointed out how well the idea and the images blend.

Despite his limitations in sympathy and his failure to deal adequately with Whitman's growth, either as a man or as an artist, Mr. Fausset has written a stimulating book. He is at his best in debunking pretense and complacency, and in offering fresh critical judgments unhampered by a too intimate familiarity with the conditions which made Whitman, in some sense, the child of America. In his efforts to see Whitman whole, he sometimes introduces corrective (even contradictory) qualifications to harsh judgments expressed; but most of these come too late in the book to overcome the predominantly iconoclastic effect of the author's dogmatic approach in the earlier chapters. This leaf of grass in our crannied wall cannot wholly be explained by a purely intellectual analysis in terms of modern psychology or a moral judgment by the canons of traditional religious dogma. Mr. Fausset occasionally seems aware that, despite his theory, Whitman's poetry is organic, since only organisms live and grow and reproduce their kind.

Queens College. EMORY HOLLOWAY.

THE SENTIMENTAL NOVEL IN AMERICA, 1789-1860. By Herbert Ross Brown. Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. ix, 407 pp. $3.00.

Professor Brown's substantial volume, devoted to a section of American fiction hitherto largely disregarded, constitutes a permanently valuable contribution to our literary history. Previous neglect of the sentimental novel has arisen as a part of that disposition to disregard our literary origins, now so generally disappearing. To a degree, however, it is also the fruit of an unavowed but persistent depreciation, partly of Puritan origin, of all but the greatest fictional effort. Even so late as 1863, Emerson, commenting on Hawthorne's merits as a man, characterized his fiction as essentially worthless.

Until the comparatively recent rescue of Charles Brockden Brown from obscurity, American fiction began with Cooper and Irving, and progressed through Poe and Hawthorne and Simms to the mid-century. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* attracted attention from political historians as a tract rather than a novel. What Professor Brown has done is to remind us of the vast feminine novel-reading public, extensive even in pre-Revolutionary days, and of the characteristics of their literary fare. The achievement of this task has demonstrated on the one hand the author's balance and sense of historical perspective, which has kept him from expecting of our ancestors what we have no right to expect; on the other, a saving sense of humor, which finds amusement in the inevitable contrast between the standards of yesterday and those of today.

In attacking the general subject of Sentimentalism, Professor Brown has made little attempt to tamper with hitherto accepted definitions, or greatly to increase the usual categories. Rather, the effort, happily successful, has been to amplify and illustrate and classify and, by bringing out of the dark many forgotten figures, to enliven an age all too readily abandoned to moths and dust.

The ground plan, suggested by a swift perusal of the chapter headings, represents a sensible adaptation of topical divisions to a general chronological order. In the treatment of "The Beginnings" proper emphasis is laid on the sheer bulk of the product and upon its overwhelmingly foreign origin. In one catalogue issued before 1800 and containing 1,171 titles but 18 were American. The strong Richardsonian influence manifested itself in two ways. The seduction motif, which, despite the author's moralistic disclaimers, went far to explain the vogue of his books, influenced following novelists and to a substantial degree justified the opposition from clergy and soberer older folk to "that evergreen tree of diabolical knowledge," the circulating library. From Richardson came, too, the widely copied epistolary form, here accorded separate treatment. Benjamin Franklin's edition of *Pamela,* Brown reminds us, was the first English novel printed in America. Sterne's contribution was "Sensibility," that pernicious assumption that tender feelings and fine phrases could mend broken promises and hearts. From the chapter on Sex which follows we learn much of the heroine, of her pallor, her preoccupation with death, her predilection for romantic settings and summerhouses. As for the men, they were husbands or lovers, never the representatives of business or adventure. In disregard of the physical aspects of love, particularly among its women, these early novels set a standard which lingered as late as Howells.

Passing into the years following 1820, we find Sentimentalism confronted by changed conditions. Popular isms, Temperance, Slavery, the Domestic Life, and Religious Faith divide the novels among them. Special interest attaches to the chapter dealing with the gradually changing attitude toward Slavery. Paulding and Cooper, we are reminded, both lamented the passing of the contented Negro slave among the Dutch, though Cooper was too honest intellectually "to attempt to justify slavery on moral or ethical grounds, and yet [was] apprehensive of the efforts of the reformers to tinker with perfection.... Cooper's father had purchased slaves to fill vacancies in his household staff, but, as Susan Cooper has remarked, their freedom was always granted immediately and they were paid wages along with the other servants" (p. 256). Lacking the support of Wilson's *Crusader in Crinoline,* not yet published when this volume appeared, Brown's treatment of Mrs. Stowe is comparatively brief. Emphasis is laid on the numerous progeny of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* Northern and Southern. Novels for feminine readers naturally made much of domestic life. In according to childhood angelic virtues these sentimental fictionists showed the influence of Wordsworth while establishing unrealized contacts with Transcendentalism. In family life as here pictured Divorce was an ugly specter, mentioned in dark whispers, as it was still in the pages of Howells. Religiously, the twenties and thirties were a time of awakening which, as Brown well says, "took often the form of spreading hope and opening wider the gateway of Heaven by attacking the stern doctrine of Calvinism" (p. 325). Liberal Unitarianism, emotional Methodism, and immigrant-supported Catholicism were factors of growing importance (p. 353). Valuable because representative of American middle-class individualism and lack of any feeling of social responsibility is the author's analysis of the attitude expressed toward economic conditions. To the writers as a group the situation as between employers and employees and as respected poverty was substantially satisfactory. Poverty was regarded as largely unnecessary, supply and demand as trustworthy agencies, the New England factories as the seat of happy industry.

The orderly arrangement, and the adroit marshaling of evidence give definiteness and finality to the author's major conclusions. If the material is at times trivial or boresome, there can be only praise for the lively style in which it is discussed, and the sparkling humor with which its absurdities are depicted. Unfortunately, in common with most scholarly surveys following a systematic pattern, the study at times wearies the reader with repeated mention of the same work as illustrative of a variety of points. There is, too, a regrettable tendency, natural when the material dealt with is largely unfamiliar and the effort expended upon its accumulation considerable, to err in laboring a conceded point, to emphasize and re-emphasize with citations which serve chiefly to demonstrate the extent of the author's reading.

It would, however, be ungracious to stress this as more than a slight fault in an otherwise praiseworthy achievement in literary history, notable for thoroughness, balance, and readability.

The University of Iowa. BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD.

Literary Criticism: *Pope to Croce.* Edited by Gay Wilson Allen and Harry Hayden Clark. New York: American Book Company. 1941. x, 659 pp. $4.00.

This anthology of writings on critical theory is the third volume of its kind to be published within the last two years. The other two—Gilbert's *Literary Criticism: Plato to Dryden* and Lieder's and Withington's *The Art of Literary Criticism*—were preceded by Smith's and Parks's *The Great Critics,* first published in 1932, and brought out in an amplified form in 1939. The Gilbert and the Allen-Clark anthologies were obviously designed to supplement each other, but the almost coincidental publication of this group of texts is very strong evidence—if any were needed—of the contemporary renaissance of interest in critical theory in America. These four volumes are similar in general purpose and method; their aim is to reprint accurately and to edit adequately the most important documents in the history of criticism. They are also alike, and, in my opinion, ill-advisedly, in the omission of a preliminary essay outlining the basic problems in critical theory and the most significant approaches to their solution. The volumes differ chiefly in the chronological range of their selections.

Messrs. Allen's and Clark's *Literary Criticism* contains selections or complete critical documents from thirty-nine critics, from Pope to Croce. The texts seem to have been edited for graduate rather than undergraduate readers; the annotations frequently assume information and interests well above the undergraduate level, and the extensive and recondite bibliographies include references to works not only in French and German, but also in Swedish and Russian! Mr. Allen is responsible for the English and European texts; Mr. Clark, for the five American texts included. Each selection is preceded by an introductory note. In the absence of any general introduction Mr. Clark has, I believe, been well advised in making his introductions more extensive than Mr. Allen's, in omitting purely biographical material, and in devoting his space to an exposition of the critic's general theories and of his relationship to the main stream of English or European criticism.

I find myself in substantial agreement with the editors' choice of authors and materials. I should have liked a somewhat fuller presentation of the doctrines of realism and naturalism, but, in the editors' defense, it should be noted that they have found room for Zola and Howells and that the other two anthologies covering the same field quite ignore representatives of these all-important movements. My most serious objection to this admirably edited anthology is that of the thirty-nine authors included only eight are represented by complete critical works. I doubt very much whether any great profit is to be gleaned from reading five pages of Bishop Hurd or three pages of Anatole France. Students sufficiently advanced to use this book should not be encouraged to content themselves with less than the critic's complete text.

Wesleyan University. FRED B. MILLETT.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF LITERARY FORM: *Studies in Symbolic Action.* By Kenneth Burke. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1941. xvi, 455 pp. $3.00.

It is greatly to the credit of the Louisiana State University Press that it should have encouraged Kenneth Burke to collect a considerable number of his major articles, essays, and reviews, and that it should have published them in the substantial and handsome volume, *The Philosophy of Literary Form*. The result is perhaps the most significant contribution to literary-critical theory since the publication of I. A. Richards's *The Principles of Literary Criticism* in 1924.

Since the primary purpose of Mr. Burke's book is the exposition of his theories, a reviewer may perhaps be of the greatest service if he attempts to separate these theories from the applications of them and to set them forth as lucidly and as succinctly as possible.

The nucleus of Mr. Burke's theory, as his subtitle suggests, is that "poetry, or any verbal act, is to be considered as 'symbolic action.'" There is, for example, "a difference, and a radical difference between building a house and writing a poem about building a house—and a poem about having children by marriage is not the same thing as having children by marriage." "In studying the full nature of a symbolic act," the critic is entitled "if the material is available, to disclose the things that the act is doing for the poet and no one else." The subject of Mr. Burke's speculation, therefore, is the relationship between the poet and the poem. For the poet, the poem may constitute a symbolic act on such different levels as the bodily or biological, the "personal, intimate, familiar, familistic," and the abstract. Thus, the poems of Coleridge are shown to be symbolic acts, dramatizing simultaneously two or more of the poet's basic problems, which Mr. Burke distinguishes as esthetics, marriage, politics, drug-addiction, and metaphysics. Poetry or "any work of critical or imaginative cast" is for Mr. Burke "the adopting of various strategies for the encompassing of situations." The situation to be encompassed is likely to be one that represents symbolically the poet's burdens, since "the poet will naturally tend to write about that which most deeply engrosses him—and nothing more deeply engrosses a man than his *burdens,* including those of a physical nature, such as disease."

The form and style chosen by the poet are mirrors in which he may confront his burdens, while protected from them by their objectification in a work of art. Of the poem, Mr. Burke distinguishes three major aspects: dream—the unconscious or subconscious factors; prayer, the communicative functions; and chart, "the realistic sizing-up of situations that is sometimes implicit, sometimes explicit, in poetic strategies."

Mr. Burke rightly describes his approach to the analysis of a work of art as pragmatic. "It assumes that a poem's structure is to be described most accurately by thinking always of the poem's function. It assumes that the poem is designed to 'do something' for the poet and his readers, and that we can make the most relevant observations about its design by considering the poem as the embodiment of this act." The critical analyst's first problem is the discovery of the dramatic alignment of the poem. "What is vs. what?" His next problem in filling out the description of the poem is noting "the sets of 'equations' that reinforce each of the opposing principles." Thus, in Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* the turtle, Tom, and the preacher Casy form, according to Mr. Burke, a series of equations representing one of the opposing principles in the drama of the novel.

Although Mr. Burke is primarily concerned here with defining and subtilizing the relationship between the poet and the poem, he is not unconcerned with the equally important relationship between the poem and the reader. For, he says, "if we try to discover what the poem is doing for the poet, we may discover a set of generalizations as to what poems do for everybody." The reader, participating in the poem, is a sharer in the poet's symbolic act, the resemblance between the experiences "being in the overlap between writer's and reader's situations, the difference being in the fact that these two situations are far from identical."

For the amplification of the ideas set forth in the opening essay, the most relevant articles are those entitled "Semantic and Poetic Meaning" and "Freud—and the Analysis of Poetry." In the first of these, Mr. Burke clarifies the fundamental distinction between the scientific and the esthetic uses of words, a distinction of the utmost importance to the literary critic. In the second, he works out the basic differences between his own conception and Freud's conception of the relation between the poet and his work. Acknowledging the great value of psychoanalysis, he sees its chief error in explaining "the complex in terms of the simple—and the simple is precisely what the complex is not."

Mr. Burke claims that his method, like that of the neo-Aristotelian Chicago school, keeps the focus of critical analysis "upon the structure of the given work itself." Like the sociological critic, he is also free to employ usefully "coordinates bearing upon social acts in general," without treating "a book as a kind of unmethodical report on a given subject-matter." Thus in addition to giving "definite insight into the organization of literary works," "it automatically breaks down the barriers erected around literature as a specialized pursuit."

Mr. Burke's theories seem to me to be so brilliantly illuminating that I regret the very considerable obstacle his style presents in the communication of his ideas. His verbal imprecision is apparent, even in his title. One does not have to read very far into the title essay to discover that it has nothing to do with philosophy; it would have been more accurately described by the title of an earlier article, "Psychology and Form." I have no objection to a theorist's creating a personal vocabulary, but occasionally Mr. Burke's seems unnecessarily infelicitous, as when, for instance, it compels him to use a phrase as misleading as an "act in a scene outside it." Neither the structure nor the style of Mr. Burke's essay makes for the easy or agreeable communication of his invaluable ideas.

Mr. Burke will, I trust, supplement this volume with another, expounding the relationship between the poem and the reader. The book in hand treats this all-important topic implicitly, but another might make it explicit and illustrate it fully with analyses as subtle and revealing as those printed here under the titles, "Antony in Behalf of the Play" and "Trial Translation."

Wesleyan University. Fred B. Millett.

The Language of Poetry. By Philip Wheelwright, Cleanth Brooks, I. A. Richards, and Wallace Stevens. Edited by Allen Tate. Princeton: The University Press. 1942. 125 pp. $2.00.

The Bases of Artistic Creation. Essays by Maxwell Anderson, Rhys Carpenter, and Roy Harris. New Brunswick: The Rutgers University Press. 1942. 70 pp. $1.25.

These slim, handsome volumes do credit to the university presses which provided them and to the universities before whose audiences their constituent essays, as lectures, were read. They are testimonies to increasing acknowledgment, on the part of American universities, that the fine arts deserve criticism as well as historical research, and that the divorce of the creator from the critic and the historian has worked to the impoverishment of all three.

But these volumes are attended by serious handicaps—some of them the handicaps which attend any collection of discourses orally delivered by a succession of eminent visitors. Of the Rutgers volume, one may most simply say, that its essayists—famous practitioners in poetic drama, painting, and music—are not estheticians or critics, and that, though uncommonly articulate for contemporary creators, they are still unable to say anything which has not already been more expertly, more systematically, and more closely, said.

The Princeton volume has the advantage: first, because its topic, Poetry, provides a moderate unification ("Language" is an imprecise indication that the essays are to concern the *differentiae* between poetry and other modes of knowledge and discourse); secondly, because (except for the wordy, wandering, and generally dispensable piece by that admirable poet, Wallace Stevens) the essays are written by persons who, though long, constantly, and intimately conversant with poetry, are themselves habitual and trained dealers in conceptual discourse.

Wheelwright the philosopher, Brooks the critic, and Richards the psychologist (and very much else) are all, however, at other disadvantages: because of their deserved reputations, they have been invited to address Princetonians; but in the course of a short essay they can scarcely advance their thinking or refine their methods; they can but repeat, illustrate, reinforce. Since that is what Brooks and Richards do, the prime value of their pieces is to call the attention of interested persons to *Modern Poetry and the Tradition* and *Understanding Poetry* (Brooks's brilliant collaboration with R. P. Warren), to *Practical Criticism* and *The Philosophy of Rhetoric.*

Wheelwright's essay is another matter. It concerns a theme variously and richly important for politics, sociology, religion, and poetry—the myth. Here the complaint must be: first, that the essayist essentially repeats and summarizes, without acknowledgment, a doctrine to be assembled from books like Sorel's *Reflections on Violence,* J. A. Stewart's *Myths of Plato,* and John Crowe Ransom's *God without Thunder,* and from William Troy's subtle essays in the *Partisan Review;* secondly, that so brief an essay can scarcely compass adequate and adequately controlled discussion of so central, complex, and elusive a subject; thirdly, that Wheelwright leaves us with a just sense of the myth's importance to society without the equally necessary sense of its danger. Without myth, a society perishes, poetry thins to *poésie pure* or didacticism, religion turns ideology or philanthropy. But myth unchecked, uncontrolled by philosophy or criticism, becomes fascism, romanticism, magic. Mr. Wheelwright leaves us in perilous state: convinced that Americans need a myth; plausibly (but not too happily) persuaded that the most likely myth to come is "a strong consciousness of America and the American destiny"; and unsupplied with any criterion by which we may "try" the myths, "whether they be of God or not."

The University of Iowa. AUSTIN WARREN.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE DEMOCRAT: *Roger Williams.* By Samuel Hugh Brockunier. "Ronald Series in History." Edited by Ralph H. Gabriel. New York: The Ronald Press Company. 1940. xiv, 305 pp. $4.00.

In these war-torn days, when democracy is on trial for its life and "American-mindedness" is being tested as never before, it becomes a matter of vital importance to comprehend clearly and fully the ideological and experiential background of the democratic way of life. During the colonial period of American history, three sets of influences contributed towards the making of American-mindedness. The first was English, deriving mostly from the English Revolution of the seventeenth century; the second, closely knit with the former, was the experience in self-government gained by the colonists themselves from 1607 to 1789; and the third flowed from a group of eighteenth-century European philosopher-reformers who, though they often leaned heavily upon John Locke and other writers of the preceding century, contributed much of the immediate philosophical foundation upon which the Founding Fathers built the American nation. Of these sets of influences, the last has received wide attention by competent scholars; the first just recently has begun to win the study it deserves; but the second, to date, has been either ignored or, too frequently, treated by persons whose enthusiasm far outweighed their scholarship. Because it reveals so admirably "the essential ingredients of the democratic upthrust in the seventeenth century as exemplified in the career of Roger Williams" (p. viii)—and, it should be added, as seen in the first fifty years of Rhode Island history—this book greatly illuminates the second set of influences mentioned above, the colonial experience in self-government.

"American-mindedness is inevitably a relative term," writes Professor Brockunier (p. vi), "but one can trace the appearance in Rhode Island of certain germinal principles associated with later Americanism." The author's method is biographical, although the book "does not pretend to be a portrait of a man's career in the conventional sense" (p. vii). Instead, Professor Brockunier has considered the ideas and public career of Rhode Island's extraordinary founder in relation to the political, social, and economic development of that colony from its beginning until its founder's death. The result is the best exposition to date of the significant part played by Roger Williams in the making of Americanism.

As distinguished from the "New England Way," with which it is frequently included, the "Rhode Island Way" was marked by unusual political, economic, and social democracy and by an almost unique degree of religious liberty. These and other "germinal principles" of Americanism bore, in seventeenth-century Rhode Island, the stamp of

Roger Williams's genius. From the start, "the lively experiment" that was Rhode Island's humble beginnings was dedicated to principles dear to Williams's heart: "a lowering of class barriers to economic opportunity, a guarantee of civil liberties including freedom of worship, and the preservation of liberty and opportunity through popular organs for majority rule" (p. 101). When, under the charter won by Williams in 1644, the colony's government was organized, the Assembly declared, "The forme of Government is Democraticall; that is to say, a Government held by the free and voluntarie consent of all, or the greater parte of the free Inhabitants" (p. 172). Subsequently, the colony's officers were chosen annually by popular elections, its laws were codified, a bill of rights was set forth, a kind of initiative and referendum was introduced, church and state were separated, and religious freedom was maintained. "All the World lies round about us drie and barren of such Liberties," wrote Williams in 1666 (p. 268). But, even then, the canker of worldliness gnawed at the colony's vitals. Suffrage was restricted to men of "competent estates" by royal command in 1665, old settlers viewed jealously the rights and properties shared with newcomers, and an aristocracy based upon priority of settlement—which so often gave rise to economic and political power—tended to destroy the equality of opportunity which had been one of the cardinal principles of the founder. "Williams's great principle of religious liberty," concludes Professor Brockunier (p. 281), "remained a rooted article of Rhode Island faith, but the democratic experiment . . . did not long survive. . . . Williams died [in 1683] . . . leaving the stage to a generation that cherished his name but looked on traffic in slaves and rum, and upon wealth and family position with the worldly eyes of the eighteenth century." Newport, rather than Providence, set the tone of Rhode Island after Williams's passing. Nevertheless, the spirit of Roger Williams lived on and, a century after his death, helped to inoculate the entire nation with the spirit of liberty.

All these things Professor Brockunier relates in scholarly fashion and with a notable absence of rancor against Williams's Bay Colony persecutors. This reviewer is led to question whether there was among the early Puritans such class consciousness as the author seems to suggest (p. 79, *passim*); and he believes that the Bay Colony ecclesiastical experiment was more mature than Mr. Brockunier holds (p. 35). It seems likely, also, that a more particularized study of Williams's religious freedom, with less reliance upon Jordan's work, excellent as it is, might have been fruitful. But these are unimportant matters as compared with the general excellence of the book.

The University of Illinois. RAYMOND PHINEAS STEARNS.

PHASES OF AMERICAN CULTURE. By Jesuit Philosophical Association of the Eastern States. Worcester, Mass.: Holy Cross College Press. 1942. 83 pp. No price given.

This little book is the fruit of the eighteenth annual convention of the Jesuit Philosophical Association held at Georgetown University in September, 1941. Its five chapters include four papers read at that meeting, together with the presidential address delivered by Stephen F. McNamee, S.J. The volume is an interesting and significant expression of American Jesuit thinking on the eve of the entry of the United States into World War II.

The presidential address is of particular interest. Father McNamee, facing a world in which the appeal to force has replaced that to reason, finds that the present conflict is the outgrowth of false philosophies. He follows the familiar road from National Socialism back to Hegel and Fichte and quotes with approval F. W. Foerster's remark that "from Fichte to Hitler the line runs straight." "But," adds Father McNamee, "the metaphysical roots of Hitlerism lie deeper still. They have been steadily growing since Luther himself planted the primitive seed. . . . Ever since Luther and Calvin, too, modern philosophy has been trying to interpret man apart from God and original sin and has thus lost the sense of the true nature of man." The result is National Socialism and dictatorship. "Hitler did not create modern Germany," affirms Father McNamee, "modern Germany created Hitler." And the course of recent German history should be a warning to the people of America, for American philosophy is following a line parallel to that which began with Fichte. "Naturalism, positivism, experimentalism, secularism are not the soil in which American democracy was originally planted; nor are these errors the soil which can nourish democracy in this country today. The founders of our American government professed beliefs that are diametrically opposed to these false philosophies." These "false philosophies" are the subtle danger that confronts American democracy. By whom were they introduced into the American thought stream? "Even now," answers Father McNamee, "and for the past half century our American non-Catholic educators have been sending forth from the university halls sappers to undermine the principles on which this government is founded! These false teachers in our democracy have perfectly prepared the way for the destructive reality of action that we daily witness in Europe because of Hitler. American non-Catholic university professors have, for the most part, been sappers instead of architects and builders of democracy." The full implications of Father McNamee's estimate of the present situation are worth pondering.

In the fourth chapter Father Hunter Guthrie, in his survey entitled the "American Philosophical Past and Present," traces the course of that degradation of American thought to which Father McNamee referred. Father Guthrie divides the time-line of American history into four segments: the Colonial Period, 1607-1760; the Revolutionary Period, 1760-1800; the Period of National Expansion, 1800-1870; and the Modern Period, 1870 to the present. Father Guthrie conveniently summarizes his narrative of the "downward zig-zag path from Puritanism to Pragmatism." "From the revealed and authoritative religion of the first period," he says, "we descend to the natural and individualistic rationalism of the second. This period, in turn, forces reason to admit sentiment to its company and so spawns the hybrid rationalistic sentimentalism of the third period. Finally, the fourth period frees itself altogether from reason and brings the downward movement to an abrupt end in Pragmatism, the metaphysics of sentiment." At the end of the path may be found the modern philosophy of individualism. "In a word," says Father Guthrie, "this individualism replaces God by man and in practical consequence of this personal apotheosis refuses to admit any external restraint of good or evil, truth or falsity beyond the subjective self-sufficiency of the individual."

Father John C. Ford concludes the exposition of the trends in modern American thought with his well-documented analysis of "The Fundamentals of the Holmes's Juristic Philosophy." Here, by implication, is Pragmatism in action in the field of legal thinking. Father Ford specifically limits his paper to legal matters; he makes no effort to present the personal philosophy of the man, Holmes. Father Ford summarizes the legal thought of Associate Justice Holmes as follows: "The essence of law is physical force. Might makes legal right. The law is to be divorced from all morality. There is no such thing as a moral *ought*—it is a mere fiction. Ultimately there is only the physical necessity of behaving or being killed. There is no absolute truth. Man is a cosmic ganglion. His ideas probably have no more cosmic value than his bowels. He himself has no more cosmic significance than a baboon or a grain of sand. There is too much fuss about the sanctity of human life. To the state man is a means to be sacrificed if necessary in the interest of the state. The ultimate arbiter of all life is physical force. The ultimate *ratio decidendi* when men disagree is this, in Holmes's words: 'We do not like it and shall kill you if we can.'" From Holmes, as Father Ford points out, stems modern "legal realism."

We know now what is talked about when, in the phrase of Father McNamee, "Jesuit philosophers, historians, and social scientists happily convene." Of the papers the one which makes the most important scholarly contribution is that of Father Ford. All five, however, are expressions of the same estimate of American trends in the year 1941. Their principal value lies in the fact that they set forth contemporary Jesuit criticism of the American scene. They are, for the most part, expressions of attack; the alternative legal, social, and religious philosophies which the Jesuit fathers would put in the place of those assailed are left to inference. This omission is the principal weakness of this series of papers. The Jesuits are not alone in their emphasis on the dangers inherent in the naturalism characteristic of much modern social thinking. The best of the critics of these modern trends have for some years been struggling to formulate humanistic or religious philosophies to supplant such a point of view as that which Father Ford finds in the writings of Holmes. The value of this little book would have been much enhanced if it had included a paper setting forth precisely the Jesuit understanding of the relation of Catholic doctrine and Catholic polity to the problems of American democratic idealism and democratic practice.

Yale University. RALPH H. GABRIEL.

MODERN AMERICAN POETRY: *A Critical Anthology.* Sixth Revised Edition. Edited by Louis Untermeyer. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1942.] xxvi, 712 pp. $2.75.

The basic features of Mr. Untermeyer's anthology have been familiar to thousands of readers since the first edition appeared in 1919. Under the circumstances a reviewer need hardly do more than indicate the major respects in which the sixth edition differs from the fifth (1936). From this new edition, twenty poets have disappeared into that Limbo to which the editor consigns his unwilling victims. To compensate for these omissions, Mr. Untermeyer has included additional poems by twenty of the remaining poets and has extended his critical net to include six new poets: Kenneth Fearing, Marya Zaturenska, Ogden Nash, Kenneth Patchen, Delmore Schwartz, and Muriel Rukeyser. Aside from the biographical-critical notes on his new poetic protégés, he has brought the other introductory notes up to date and has reworked and expanded effectively his treatments of Frost, Stevens, Williams, Pound, Eliot, Millay, MacLeish, Cummings, and Crane. As a result the poetic significance particularly of Stevens, Williams, and Crane is made increasingly apparent. Four new pages at the end of the Preface sketch in poetic trends and tendencies since 1936. Since one of these pages is devoted to the poetry of surrealism, it might have been well to add one representative poet of this school to the editor's long roster.

All the changes indicated above are improvements over the fifth edition. Certainly among the discarded poets there was no indubitably major figure. The poets appearing here for the first time are admirable indices to the history of poetry in the thirties. Fearing, Patchen, and Rukeyser represent satisfactorily various facets of the decade's social consciousness, and Zaturenska and Schwartz illustrate divergent types of poetic introversion.

To the general purpose and method of Mr. Untermeyer's anthology, it would be pointless to object. As one edition follows another, however, certain difficulties in his scheme loom larger and larger. A comparison of the earlier and the later editions suggests the dangers of contemporaneity. The urge to give an up-to-the-minute account of American poetry forces upon the editor inclusions and eliminations that encourage a short-range vision. On the other hand, the attempt to bring to light a coherent pattern of development extending from Whitman to Rukeyser involves the risk of a distortion of the historical perspective. To term both Whitman and Rukeyser "modern" poets seems an unwarranted extension of the meaning of the epithet. Since in the history of literature discontinuity is as significant a principle as continuity, the time would seem to be ripe for Mr. Untermeyer to produce a collection of genuinely contemporary, rather than vaguely modern, poetry.

Wesleyan University. FRED B. MILLETT.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1713-1721 *with Bibliographical and Other Notes* (*Sibley's Harvard Graduates,* Vol. VII). By Clifford K. Shipton. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1942. x, 641 pp.

In this, the third volume since 1933 of his continuation of John Langdon Sibley's early biographical undertaking, Mr. Shipton wisely omits the apology with which he prefaced the volume immediately preceding it: "Any one who reads these sketches through consecutively will doubtless be bored." From the twenty-eight pages devoted to the redoubtable Charles Chauncey (1721) to the something less than six lines given over to young Archelaus Putnam (1719), there is little boring in this book. It is scholarly, well documented, and, so far as I have been able to check, exact—this we would expect of it; but, beyond such antiquarian necessities, there runs through the work a current of mature and understanding commentary, both unbiased and nonpedantic, which makes many of the sketches just plain good reading. We like the sturdy mood of Mr. Shipton's introduction, which, after announcing that references "to such obvious sources as town histories, genealogies, and printed vital records have been omitted," goes on to inform us that "Where, as is commonly the case, dates are in dispute, we have not entered into an explanation for the reasons for the choice of the one we have accepted, if those reasons will be plain to anyone who cares to spend a few minutes with the printed source materials." This, perhaps in proportion to the minutes we have to spend, is either arbitrary or honest common sense.

Among the one hundred and thirty-eight students who attended Harvard between 1713 and 1721, we find that twenty-six became merchants, fifteen physicians, ten soldiers (in addition to six army chaplains), eleven judges, and five lawyers—the church or an early grave seems to have accounted for most of the rest. There were names at Harvard then that would become more famous when borne by members of a later generation: Paine, Bullfinch, Lowell, Dana, Emerson. There were names famous in their own right: Ebenezer Gay (1714), "the father of Unitarianism"; Daniel Neal ("of no particular class"), the historian of the Puritans; Charles Chauncey (1721), the list of whose works fills more than six pages; and Isaac Greenwood (1721), first Hollis Professor of Mathematics at the University. There were some engaging young scamps among them: Thomas Walter (1713), a favorite though often erring nephew of Cotton Mather; Nathan Prince (1718), brother of the historian, whose pious contemporaries acknowledged him "an ingenious and learned man, but withall of so immoral and scandalous a life"; and the Indian lad, Benjamin Larnell (1716), ward of Samuel Sewall, "an extraordinary Latin Poet, and a good Greek one," but excessively fond of drink and addicted to overeating, the latter of which pleasures led to his death during the "vacancy" at the end of his sophomore year, in spite of Judge Sewall's having called in "the best physicians to administer and the best ministers to preach." Of men of belles-lettres, in any modern sense of the term, there were perhaps only three, all from the "learned class" of 1721: Ebenezer Turrell, who contributed "Some large memoirs" of his deceased wife to his father-in-law's collection of her works; the poet John Adams, who was never quite at home or happy in Boston, if indeed in this world at all; and, finally, Ebenezer Parkman, who recorded the reading of "Romances & Tales Poems & Plays" in his list of personal vanities and improprieties, but who later spent a day without regret in reading *Pamela,* who afterwards admitted that even a perusal of *Clarissa Harlowe* might bring to "such as are bred in the country . . . some Taste of brilliant sense, when they cant be polished by conversation," and who collected in his singing book such profane and popular airs as "The Jolly Young Swain," "Lord Biron's Jug," and "Love Triumphant."

In all, the lives of these men as sketched by Mr. Shipton are, in words familiar to a collegiate generation half a century later than the one he treats, both enlightening and entertaining. The student will find almost at a glance either what he wants to know or where to go for it.

Duke University. LEWIS LEARY.

BRIEF MENTION

THE PLAYS. By Henry C. DeMille, with David Belasco. Edited by Robert Hamilton Ball. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1941. xxvi, 342 pp. $5.00.

THE WHITE SLAVE AND OTHER PLAYS. By Bartley Campbell. Edited by Napier Wilt. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1941. lxxxi, 248 pp. $5.00.

MAN AND WIFE AND OTHER PLAYS. By Augustin Daly. Edited by Catherine Sturtevant. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1942. xxi, 403 pp. $5.00.

These three volumes—XVII, XIX, and XX of "America's Lost Plays"—include fifteen melodramas and farcical comedies popular on the American stage from 1870 to 1890. While the plays are negligible as literature, they are important documents in American social and theatrical history, and the editors of these volumes and the series as a whole are to be congratulated on making them available.

Volume XVII contains *The Main Line,* written by DeMille in collaboration with Charles Barnard, and the four dramas which were, as Mr. Ball says, "playwrought" by DeMille and Belasco: *The Wife, Lord Chumley, The Charity Ball,* and *Men and Women.* Volume XIX contains Bartley Campbell's *The Virginian, My Partner, The Galley Slave, Fairfax,* and *The White Slave.* The plays in Volume XX are Augustin Daly's *Man and Wife, Divorce, The Big Bonanza, Pique,* and *Needles and Pins.*

Each volume includes an editorial introduction giving relevant facts concerning the production of the plays and listing the dramas written by DeMille, Campbell, or Daly. Volume XIX includes in addition a biographical sketch of Bartley Campbell and over one hundred excerpts from contemporary reviews of his plays. The editorial work in all the volumes has been ably done.

New York University. THOMAS CLARK POLLOCK.

GUINEA'S CAPTIVE KINGS: *British Anti-Slavery Literature of the XVIIIth Century.* By Wylie Sypher. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1942. x, 340 pp. $3.00.

This survey contains references to the influence of eighteenth-century American writers such as Jefferson, Paine, Woolman, and especially Anthony Benezet upon contemporary British antislavery literature, and incidentally suggests a source in this literature for Crèvecoeur's tale of the dying slave suspended in a cage from a tree in South Carolina (pp. 22, 47-48).

Swarthmore College. FREDERICK B. TOLLES.

THOMAS PAINE. By J. M. Connell. With an Introduction by R. H. Mottram. London, New York, and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. [1939.] 40 pp. $1.00.

A reprint, with a timely and appreciative introduction, of the Rev. Mr. Connell's bicentenary notice, "Thomas Paine—The Man As He Was," *Hibbert Journal,* XXXV, 213-226 (January, 1937).

Duke University. LEWIS LEARY.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES IN AMERICAN HISTORY: *Guide to Materials for Research.* By Henry Putney Beers. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1942. xv, 487 pp. $4.75.

This is a second edition of the most valuable index to the bibliography of American history extant. "About 4,000 titles have been added. . . . These include numerous publications which appeared before the first edition was published and all publications discovered since that time up to the end of 1941. Besides published matter, compilations in progress and manuscript bibliographies have been listed, as in the first edition" (Preface).

The section on *Literature* is marked by certain notable omissions but includes a variety of works which may have eluded the notice of the devotees of belles-lettres.

C. G.

CONCERNING WILLIAM VAUGHN MOODY. By Grace Neahr Veeder. Waukesha, Wis.: Privately printed. 1941. 19 pp.

Mrs. Veeder's pamphlet contains notes taken in a course under Moody at the University of Chicago in 1896.

C. G.

IN AMERICA: *A Literary View of Our Country.* By Pearle Ethel Knight and Harry G. Paul. Chicago: Mentzer, Bush & Company. [1942.] xvi, 1,197 pp.

An extremely interesting anthology for high-school students emphasizing subject matter rather than history or literary types.

C. G.

GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN THE WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY. Compiled by Howard H. Peckham. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press. 1942. xvi, 403 pp. $5.00.

"An attempt to provide some analysis of the various manuscript collections in the Clements Library. It is not a catalogue, a calendar, or a general index" (Randolph G. Adams in Foreword). A well-arranged and beautifully printed guide to one of the outstanding collections of historical manuscripts in the United States.

Students of American literature may be interested in the fact that the collection includes letters by Allston, Simms, Whittier, Howells, and other authors of a period later than that of Paine and Franklin.

C. G.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865. By John A. Krout. Sixth Edition. New York: Barnes & Noble. [1942.] 230 pp. $0.75.

AN OUTLINE OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. By Wallace S. Sayre. Eighth Edition. New York: Barnes & Noble. [1942.] 219 pp. $0.75.

Two excellent guides for review purposes.

C. G.

MARK TWAIN'S LETTERS IN THE MUSCATINE JOURNAL. Edited with an Introduction by Edgar M. Branch. Chicago: The Mark Twain Association of America. 1942. 29 pp.

Five letters (1853-1855) filled with "travel talk and current events."

C. G.

NOVELS, PLAYS, BIOGRAPHIES, POETRY DEALING WITH SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. Edited by Elinor G. Black. New York: American Labor Education Service. 1941. 32 pp. Mimeographed. $0.15.

Consists chiefly of twentieth-century works, American and European.

C. G.

THE LETTERS OF JOHN FISKE. Edited by Ethel F. Fisk. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1940. 706 pp. $3.00.

A new issue [1941] of a work of great value to the student of the New England intellectual background during the period following the Civil War. The selection of letters forms a good account of the earlier and middle years of Fiske's life.

C. G.

REGIONAL UNITED STATES: *A Subject List.* Compiled by Hannah Logasa. Boston: The F. W. Faxon Company. 1942. xv, 71 pp. $2.00.

"The purpose of the list is to provide interesting material in fiction, and in fact which illustrates the conditions in the various regional units. . . . The basis for the selection of titles was one of general usefulness rather than regional completeness" (Preface).

C. G.

THESE UNITED STATES: *Being a Literary Map Depicting a Renaissance No Less Astonishing Than That of Periclean Athens or Elisabethan London.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1942. $2.00.

As a sample of the offerings of this literary map the State of Virginia may be used. A picture of Lee on horseback appears, and grouped around it there are names of the authors: Ellen Glasgow, Douglas Freeman, and J. B. Cabell. The "text" is by Gladys and Sterling North.

C. G.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS. Edited by Ralph Wood. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. [1942.] vii, 299 pp. $3.00.

A collection of essays on various aspects of the Pennsylvania Germans, including one on their journalism, by Ralph Wood, and one on their literature, by Harry Hess Reichard. There is an appendix on the Pennsylvania German dialect, by A. F. Buffington. The introduction makes clear that the various authors "tried to use material which would best answer the question. . . . Who are the Pennsylvania Germans, why are they what they are, and what is their place in America?"

C. G.

WIDE MARGINS: *A Publisher's Autobiography.* By George Palmer Putnam. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1942.] viii, 351 pp.

A collection of very entertaining anecdotes, sprinkled with a little history of certain publications of the house of Putnam.

C. G.

RELIGION IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By William Warren Sweet. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942. xvi, 367 pp. $3.00.

In this volume and the two which are to follow Professor Sweet is covering in greater detail the ground already covered in his *The Story of Religion in America* (1930). In the present volume he is particularly concerned with "the Americanization of Christianity." "The eighteenth century," he points out, "saw American religion more and more democratized and, in the Great Colonial Revivals, for the first time religion reached down to the masses. In the process the old European Church-State relationship was gradually changed, and with independence came the opportunity to bring to a successful completion the century-and-a-half struggle for religious freedom and the separation of Church and State" (p. viii). Professor Sweet, who is singularly free from the denominational bias of most religious historians, has attempted "to place religion in its proper perspective in American colonial history." He rightly contends that our cultural history cannot be fully understood without an understanding of our religious history; and, apart from Colonial New England, the whole subject has been seriously neglected by our historians. In discussing Colonial New England he pays the tribute due to scholars working in the field of literary history when he writes: "At long last, however, there has arisen a group of young American scholars, working mostly in the field of American literature, who have set themselves to the task of getting to the bottom of American Puritanism by a thorough examination of their literary output, and already their labors have born [*sic*] abundant fruit" (p. 118).

THE ESSAYS OF HENRY TIMROD. Edited with an Introduction by Edd Winfield Parks. Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1942. viii, 184 pp. $2.50.

In this well-printed volume Professor Parks has included Timrod's lecture "A Theory of Poetry" and the three essays which first appeared in *Russell's Magazine:* "The Character and Scope of the Sonnet," "What Is Poetry?" and "Literature in the South." In his Introduction and notes he has printed pertinent passages from Timrod's letters and newspaper writings. In an appendix he has included William J. Grayson's "What Is Poetry?" which was twice discussed by Timrod. "A Theory of Poetry," which has twice been printed none too accurately, is here reproduced from the manuscript owned by the Charleston Library Society. The Introduction gives an excellent discussion of Timrod's debt to other poets and critics, especially Wordsworth and Tennyson, and a good analysis of Timrod's literary tenets. "Essentially," Dr. Parks concludes, "Timrod was an ethical critic" (p. 18), although he was also keenly interested in matters of form.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF COLONIAL CULTURE. By Thomas J. Wertenbaker. New York: New York University Press; London: Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. [1942.] 171 pp. $3.00.

Professor Wertenbaker's eight chapters—the Anson G. Phelps lectures on Early American History at New York University—deal with

Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charleston in the mid-eighteenth century; and they treat architecture, painting, literature, the theater, etc., briefly, but very suggestively. His emphasis on the cities of the seaboard involves a neglect of other regions. Jonathan Edwards, for instance, is, I believe, not mentioned in the book. Professor Wertenbaker knows his historical sources including the colonial newspapers. His literary judgments, however, seem somewhat naïve, and he appears unaware of significant work done by literary scholars on such figures as Richard Lewis and Ebenezer Cooke.

WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY OF SYNONYMS: *A Dictionary of Discriminated Synonyms with Antonyms and Analogous and Contrasted Words.* Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers. [1942.] xxxiv, 907 pp. $3.50; with thumb index, $4.00.

This is by far the most useful book of synonyms that I have seen. It is easy to find what you want, and the discriminating articles are uniformly excellent. There is a considerable amount of illustrative material including quotations from authors so recent as W. H. Auden and T. S. Eliot. The book is a development from the lists of synonyms prepared by John Livingston Lowes for the first edition of Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1910). The introductory materials include an informative "Survey of the History of English Synonymy," by Miss Rose F. Egan, who also wrote most of the discriminating articles. In a book intended for the general reader one does not expect or find many literary terms. Perhaps in a future edition, however, we may find a few additional articles discriminating among such terms as *Romanticism, romance,* and *romantic.*

VIRGINIA IS A STATE OF MIND. By Virginia Moore. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1942. 332 pp. $3.00.

CARRY ME BACK. By Rebecca Yancey Williams. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1942. 320 pp. $3.00.

Miss Moore's interesting general discussion of Virginia history, landscape, cookery, etc., concludes with a long chapter on "Her Literature" (pp. 265-312). Miss Moore's discussion of the later Virginia writers is better than what she writes of the earlier ones. There are some errors in factual matters, and some of the titles—two of Ellen Glasgow's, for example—are not given correctly.

Mrs. Williams's sequel to *The Vanishing Virginian* is quite as interesting as the earlier book and it is a better articulated narrative.

UNION CATALOGS IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by Robert B. Downs. Sponsored by The American Library Association, Board on Resources. Contributors: Arthur B. Berthold, LeRoy C. Merritt, George A. Schwegmann, John P. Stone. Chicago, Ill.: The American Library Association. 1942. xxii, 410 pp. $5.00.

"This volume on union library catalogs in the United States presents the results of a nationwide survey of all aspects of union cataloguing by a group of investigators who have been engaged with the task for more than a year. The aim is to cover the history, current status, and future prospects of various types of union catalogs for American libraries" (Preface). Of the five parts into which this book is divided the most interesting to scholars are George A. Schwegmann's "The National Union Catalog in the Library of Congress" and Arthur B. Berthold's "Directory of Union Catalogs in the United States."

VIRGINALIA: *Songs of My Summer Nights.* By Thomas Holley Chivers. Research Classics No. 2. [Brooklyn, N. Y.: Eugene L. Schwaab.] 1942. 132 pp. $3.75.

According to S. Foster Damon, *Virginalia* (Philadelphia, 1853) "is by far Chivers's most interesting volume. It contains some of his most daring and successful meters, his wildest images. It is full of records of spiritual sensation, prophetic dreams, reveries that melt away into music, and other strange things." It also contains a number of poems that reveal the influence of Poe. No better volume of Chivers could have been chosen for reproduction. "It is to be hoped," says the author of the anonymous brief introduction, "that the present reprint will create sufficient interest to justify the preparation of a definitive edition of the complete works of Dr. Chivers by some university or foundation."

STORM OVER THE LAND: *A Profile of the Civil War Taken Mainly from* Abraham Lincoln: The War Years. By Carl Sandburg. [Illustrated.] New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. [1942.] 440 pp. $3.50.

"The plan for such a book was first proposed by Elisabeth Bevier Hamilton, and we are indebted to her for skilled editorial work in the preparation of the manuscript. For the sake of brevity and sequence the author has rewritten some sections of the larger work for service herein, on occasion adding new text" (Preface).

AN ODD LOT OF NEW ENGLAND PURITAN PERSONALITIES: *With Some Observations on* The Bay Psalm Book. By George Parker Winship. Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press. 1942. 25 pp.

Interesting and well written.

GEORGIA AUTHOR BIBLIOGRAPHY 1900-1940. By Atlanta Junior Members Round Table of American Library Association. Atlanta, Ga.: Inez B. Brown. 1942. 66 pp.

A bibliography of the works of Georgia authors written since 1900. The only important omission noted by the reviewer is the name of Charles R. Anderson, author of *Melville in the South Seas.*

A SOUTHERN BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Biography 1929-1941.* Compiled by Janet Margaret Agnew. [Baton Rouge, La.:] Louisiana State University: The Library School. [1942.] 173 pp.

The fourth section of *A Southern Bibliography.* Earlier numbers are *Fiction, 1929-1938; Historical Fiction, 1929-1938;* and *Poetry, 1929-1938.*

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN ENGLISH ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES. Compiled at the University of Chicago under the editorship of Sir William A. Craigie and James R. Hulbert. Part XVI, *Recorder—Schoolhouse Preacher.* Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press. Pp. 1909-2036. $4.00.

The latest addition to the indispensable *Dictionary of American English.*

LATIN AMERICAN BELLES-LETTRES IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION: *A Selective and Annotated Guide.* By James A. Granier. Washington, D. C.: The Library of Congress. 1942. 31 pp.

"The present list of the principal translations of the literary works of Latin American authors is intended primarily as a guide to the uninitiated, who have not sufficient knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese to read the publications in the original.

"The user of the guide should keep in mind that the titles listed refer to the field of *belles-lettres*—prose fiction, poetry, drama, the essay. It seemed desirable, also, to restrict the list to some sixty entries. Each entry contains a brief descriptive note and excerpts from published reviews" (Introduction).

J. B. H.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), C. Doren Tharp (University of Miami), Frederick B. Tolles (Swarthmore College), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the January, 1943, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the Committee, Lewis Leary, Duke University, Durham, N. C.

I. 1607-1800

[ADAMS, JOHN] Hedges, James B. "John Adams Speaks His Mind." *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII, 806-809 (July, 1942).

Adams's strictures on Washington and Franklin throw into high relief the fulsome praise which he bestows on James Otis, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock.

[BREINTNALL, JOSEPH] Tolles, Frederick B. "A Note on Joseph Breintnall, Franklin's Collaborator." *Phil. Quar.*, XXI, 247-249 (April, 1942).

The diary of Quaker John Smith contains evidence that Breintnall became a freethinker in his later years.

[BYRD, WILLIAM] Johnston, Rebecca. "William Byrd Title Book." *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, L, 169-179, 238-263 (April and July, 1942). Concluded.

[ELLIOT, JAMES] Adams, Elizabeth L. "James Elliot's Offering to the Muses." *More Books*, XVII, 291-292 (June, 1942).

Elliot's verses, published at Greenfield, Mass., in 1798, occasionally contain "a simple lyrical line, suggestive of the wide loneliness of the frontier."

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Chinard, Gilbert. "Looking Westward." *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.*, CCXXXIV, 1-16 (July, 1942).

From 1751 to 1782 Franklin was a consistent advocate and prophet of westward expansion.

Conway, Eleanor. "Dr. Abeloff's Franklin Collection." *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar. Bul.,* XXVI, 65-66 (July, 1942).

A collection of volumes, pamphlets, periodicals, and mementos presented to the Society.

Crane, Verner W. "Franklin's Political Journalism in England." *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCXXXIII, 205-224 (March, 1942).

An analysis of the character and significance of a newly discovered body of Franklin's editorial journalism.

Farrand, Max. "Self-Portraiture: The Autobiography." *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCXXXIII, 1-16 (Jan., 1942).

Hedges, James B. See above, *s.v.* ADAMS.

Knollenberg, Bernhard. "Benjamin Franklin—'Philosophical Revolutionist.'" *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCXXXIII, 517-523 (June, 1942).

Franklin "was a revolutionist of extraordinary consistency."

Pepper, George Wharton. "Molding the Constitution." *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCXXXIII, 413-434 (May, 1942).

"Franklin's service in the Constitutional Convention was rendered rather by molding his colleagues than by any direct action in molding the Constitution itself."

Read, Convers. "Dr. Franklin as the English Saw Him." *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCXXXIII, 105-133 (Feb., 1942).

"Franklin in every department of his thought and action was profoundly influenced by his English inheritance and by his English connections."

Spiller, Robert E. "Benjamin Franklin: Student of Life." *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCCXXXIII, 309-329 (April, 1942).

The method of Franklin's thinking was pragmatic: "He relies in every problem upon experience in the immediate sense as his final authority."

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Leary, Lewis. "Father Bombo's Pilgrimage." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.,* LXVI, 459-478 (Oct., 1942).

First publication of Freneau's portion of the "novel" he wrote at Princeton with H. H. Brackenridge.

———. "The Log of the Brig *Rebecca,* October 15-November 7, 1779." *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Libr.,* V, 65-70 (June, 1942).

Freneau's day-by-day account of his voyage as supercargo on a voyage to the Canary Islands.

———. "Philip Freneau's Captain Hanson." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 51-52 (July, 1942).

The mysterious West Indian mariner who befriended Freneau in 1776 may have been Captain John Hanson, of whom Ezra Stiles reports in his *Literary Diary.*

———. "Philip Freneau on the Cession of Florida." *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XXI, 40-43 (July, 1942).

An uncollected poem of Freneau's later years.

[MATHER, COTTON] Porter, Katherine Anne. "Affectation of Praehimininies, Part II." *Accent,* II, 226-232 (Summer, 1942).

Concluded.

[PAINE, THOMAS] Landin, Harold W. "Some Letters of Thomas Paine and William Short on the Nootka Sound Crisis." *Jour. of Mod. Hist.*, XIII, 357-374 (Sept., 1941).

The five letters which Paine, in June, 1790, wrote to the United States chargé d'affaires at the court of France help fill a gap in his published correspondence and present an interesting interpretation of the Nootka Sound controversy.

[SEWALL, SAMUEL] Dykema, Karl W. "Samuel Sewall Reads John Dryden." *Amer. Lit.*, XIV, 157-161 (May, 1942).

Sewall records in his commonplace book in 1687 that he read in *The Indian Emperour,* thus presenting the "first positive evidence of an acquaintance with a work of Dryden on the part of a New Englander."

[STODDARD, SOLOMON] Miller, Perry. "Solomon Stoddard." *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, XXXIV, 277-320 (Oct., 1941)

Biographical and critical, with particular attention to Stoddard's contribution to religious thought.

[WEEMS, M. L.] Bryan, W. A. "The Genesis of Weems' *Life of Washington.*" *Americana,* XXXVI, 147-165 (April, 1942).

The *Life* did not grow from a funeral sermon, but was ready for the press when Washington died. In its final form it shows the author's dissatisfaction with Marshall's *Life,* for which Weems was a book agent.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Ellis, Milton. "Puritans and the Drama." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 64 (July, 1942).

"Perhaps the first Massachusetts town to treat the legal prohibition of stage plays as a 'dead letter' was Gloucester," in 1790.

Harkness, R. E. E. "America's Heritage of Colonial Culture." *Crozer Quar.*, XIX, 278-291 (Oct., 1942).

A survey.

Leary, Lewis. "First Theatrical Performance in North America." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 84 (Sept., 1942).

June 24, 1567, at the Spanish mission near Tequesta (Miami), Florida.

McDonald, Gerald M. "Unrecorded Numbers of the New-York Gazette." *Bul. of the N. Y. Pub. Libr.,* XLVI, 685-688 (July, 1942).

Eighteen issues of 1726, 1731-1733.

Miller, Perry. "Declension in a Bible Commonwealth." *Proc. of the Amer. Antiq. Soc.,* LI, 37-94 (April, 1942).

Woolf, H. B. "Chaucer in Colonial America." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 71-72 (Aug., 1942).

The rarity of eighteenth-century American references to Chaucer.

Yarmolinsky, Avrahm. "Studies in Russian Americana: V. The Eighteenth Century." *Bul. of the N. Y. Public Libr.,* XLVI, 374-378, 451-475 (April and May, 1942).

A discussion and check-list of books concerning America published in Russia.

II. 1800-1870

[ALCOTT, BRONSON] See below, *s.v.* PEABODY.

[ALCOTT, LOUISA] Adams, Elizabeth L. "Louisa Alcott's Doomed Manuscript." *More Books,* XVII, 221-222 (May, 1942).

A four-page letter, January 28, 1874, from Miss Alcott to her publisher, which may explain the nonappearance of a work planned for publication in 1864.

[AUDUBON, J. J.] McDermott, John Francis. "Audubon's 'Journey up the Mississippi.'" *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.,* XXXV, 148-173 (June, 1942).

"The most satisfactory version of Audubon's first visit to the Mississippi River" was first published in *The Winter's Wreath* for 1829.

[BACKUS, HENRY] Jones, Louis C. "Henry Backus, the Saugerties Bard." *N. Y. Hist.,* XXIII, 139-148 (April, 1942).

Sketch of a colorful minstrel who wandered the Hudson and Mohawk valleys singing his ballads and peddling them as broadsides, 1801-1861.

[COOPER, J. F.] Davidson, Levette Jay. "Letters from Authors." *Colorado Mag.,* XIX, 122-126 (July, 1942).

Prints, among other letters in the collection of the Colorado Historical Society, one from Cooper to General Winfield Scott, January 3, 1849.

[CROCKETT, DAVID] Dorson, Richard M. "Davy Crockett and the Heroic Age." *So. Folklore Quar.,* VI, 95-102 (June, 1942).

The character of the legendary Crockett is similar in its evolution to that of folklore heroes of Old World legends.

[Emerson, R. W.] Mowat, R. B. "The England Emerson Saw from *Americans in England*." *Christian Science Mon.*, XXXIV, 8 (May 2, 1942).

Nye, Russel B. "Emerson in Michigan and the Northwest." *Mich. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI, 159-172 (Spring, 1942).

Concludes that Emerson's Western trips "broadened his intellectual horizons."

Strauch, Carl F. "The Background for Emerson's 'Boston Hymn.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XIV, 36-47 (March, 1942).

The inspiration for the "Boston Hymn" arrived just one day before the celebration at which the poem was read: various drafts indicate that Emerson wrote the most memorable stanzas at white heat.

———. "Emerson at Lehigh." *Lehigh Alumni Bul.*, XXIX, 15-16 (April, 1942).

Two hitherto unpublished Emerson letters of October 18 and 28, 1854.

[Goodrich, S. G.] [Bates, Albert C.] [The Knights of the Round Table.] *Bul. of the Conn. Hist. Soc.*, VII, 2-4 (Oct., 1940).

Exposition and check-list of publications of the Hartford literary group organized under the leadership of Samuel G. Goodrich in 1819.

[Greeley, Horace] Lillard, Richard G. "Hank Monk and Horace Greeley." *Amer. Lit.*, XIV, 126-134 (May, 1942).

Hank Monk did shout, "Keep your seat, Horace," as his stage careened at break-neck speed across the Sierra Nevadas in 1859.

[Hastings, Sally] Hastings, George E. "Sally Hastings (1773-1812), Poet and Pioneer." *Americana*, XXXVI, 301-415 (July, 1942).

Sally Hastings published at Lancaster, Pa., in 1808, a volume containing a collection of poems and a journal recounting her adventures as a pioneer in 1800.

[Hawthorne, Nathaniel] Astrov, Vladimir. "Hawthorne and Dostoevski as Explorers of the Human Conscience." *New Eng. Quar.*, XV, 296-319 (June, 1942).

In *Notes from Underground* (1863) and especially in *Crime and Punishment* (1866), the Russian's main ideas show a remarkable kinship with the problems and solutions of *The Scarlet Letter* and *The Marble Faun.* Hawthorne's ideas seem to have deeply fertilized Dostoevski's moral consciousness.

Weber, Carl J. "A Hawthorne Centenary." *Colby Mercury*, VII, 97-102 (May, 1942).

Rare Hawthorne items at Colby College.

[LINCOLN, ABRAHAM] Basler, Roy P. "The Authorship of the 'Rebecca' Letters." *Abraham Lincoln Quar.,* II, 80-90 (June, 1942).

A defense of Lincoln's statement that he had written only the second (Sept. 2, 1842) of the "Rebecca" letters in the *Sangamo Journal.*

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Ullmann, S. "Composite Metaphors in Longfellow's Poetry." *Rev. of Engl. Stud.,* XVIII, 219-228 (April, 1942).

A study of Longfellow's "original and none-the-less sober handling of the inexhaustible resources of intersensorial association" finds that his synesthetic metaphors excel in quality rather than in number.

[LOWELL, J. R.] Bail, Hamilton Vaughan. "Harvard's Commemoration Day: July 21, 1865." *New Eng. Quar.,* XV, 256-279 (June, 1942).

An account of the commemoration exercises at which Lowell read his famous Ode.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Anon. "Melville and His Public." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 67-71 (Aug., 1942).

Newspaper accounts of Melville's lectures, Jan. 9-Feb. 20, 1858.

Ashley, Clifford W. "A Possible Verse Parody of *Moby-Dick.*" *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 62-63 (July, 1942).

Duffy, Charles. "Toward the Whole Evidence on Melville as a Lecturer." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 58 (July, 1942).

Reprints report of a lecture by Melville from the Ithaca *Journal and Advertiser,* Jan. 13, 1858.

Mills, Gordon. "The Significance of 'Arcturus' in *Mardi.*" *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 158-161 (May, 1942).

The recognition of "Arcturus" as a representation of an impartial and detailed criticism of man gives significance to a symbolic interpretation of *Mardi.*

[PEABODY, ELIZABETH] Roberts, Josephine E. "Elizabeth Peabody and the Temple School." *New Eng. Quar.,* XV, 497-508 (Sept., 1942).

Elizabeth Peabody was the promoter, the chief recorder, and the last defender of Alcott's Temple School.

[POE, E. A.] Astrov, Vladimir. "Dostoievsky on Edgar Allan Poe." *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 70-74 (March, 1942).

Dostoievsky's article on Poe in 1861 indicates an understanding of the American's unfettered imagination, psychological penetration, and mastery of realistic detail.

Bailey, J. O. "Sources of Poe's *Arthur Gordon Pym,* 'Hans Pfaal,' and Other Pieces." *PMLA,* LVII, 513-535 (June, 1942).

One of the most important sources seems to be "Seaborn's" novel, *Symzonia,* based on Symmes's theory that the earth is hollow at the poles; another is George Tucker's *A Voyage to the Moon.* Other source studies are mentioned and evaluated.

Echaqüe, Juan Pablo. "El amor en la literatura." *Boletín de la Academia Argentina de Letras,* IX, 373-499 (July-Sept., 1941).

Account of the marriage of Poe and Virginia Clemm, and its effects on certain poems ("Eureka," "Ulalume," "Annabel Lee," "The Raven"); his thirst for affection, rising from who knows what mysterious intuition, pushed him toward femininity.

Mabbott, T. O. " 'Poe' on Intemperance," *Notes & Queries,* CLXXXIII, 34-35 (July 18, 1942).

A doubtful item ascribed merely to "Poe" (without first name or initials) in *The Southern First Class Book; or Exercises in Reading and Declamation* (Macon, Georgia, 1839).

———. "Poe's Tale, 'The Lighthouse.' " *Notes & Queries,* CLXXXII, 226-227 (April 25, 1942).

Reprint, with comments, of a seldom printed, unfinished tale.

Miller, F. DeWolfe. "The Basis for Poe's 'The Island of the Fay.' " *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 135-140 (May, 1942).

This prose-fantasy was "written under pressure" as letterpress for a mezzotint of the same title by John Sartain.

Pittman, Diana. "Key to the Mystery of Edgar Allan Poe. From *Ebony Shadows.*" *So. Lit. Messenger,* IV, 143-168 (April, 1942).

The source of "The Raven" is found in "Christopher North's" "Noctes Ambrosianæ," *Blackwood's Mag.,* XLI (March, 1829): "Poe built his theme on the British prose in a logical gradation of planned sequences, far surpassing anything called plagiarism."

Schubert, Leland. "James William Carling: Expressionist Illustrator of 'The Raven.' " *So. Lit. Messenger,* IV, 173-181 (April, 1942).

Worthen, Samuel Copp. "A Strange Aftermath of the Mystery of 'Marie Roget' (Mary Rogers)." *Proc. of the N. J. Hist. Soc.,* LX, 116-123 (April, 1942).

In 1891, Laura V. Appleton, daughter of John Anderson, tobacconist, brought suit to recover part of her father's property. During the trial, witnesses presented new material relative to Anderson's part in the Mary Rogers murder case.

[RIPLEY, GEORGE] Schulz, Arthur R., and Pochmann, Henry A. "George Ripley: Unitarian, Transcendentalist, or Infidel?" *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 1-19 (March, 1942).

Unwilling to subscribe to a thoroughgoing rationalism or to follow completely a transcendent mysticism, Ripley illustrates the difficulty of Emersonian idealists who sought to reconcile belief with knowledge.

[SIMMS, W. G.] Morris, J. Allen. "The Stories of William Gilmore Simms." *Amer. Lit.*, XIV, 20-35 (March, 1942).

A canon of fifty-eight stories by Simms listed in chronological order.

[SPARKS, JARED] Stearns, Malcolm, Jr. "The Utopian College of Jared Sparks." *New Eng. Quar.*, XV, 512-515 (Sept., 1942).

A letter from Sparks to President Kirkland in 1825 advocates the advancement of students as fast as their capabilities allow.

[STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER] Beeton, Mayson M. "Mr. Beeton and 'Uncle Tom.'" *London Times Lit. Supp.*, No. 2109, p. 331 (July 4, 1942).

Cites a letter to prove that Mrs. Stowe accepted with complacence the pirating of her novel in England.

Garwood, H. P. "Mr. Beeton and 'Uncle Tom.'" *London Times Lit. Supp.*, No. 2102, p. 250 (May 16, 1942).

Unlike other English publishers of Mrs. Stowe's novel, who felt entirely free from copyright obligation, Samuel Beeton came to the United States and presented her with a check for £500.

[THOREAU, H. D.] Deevey, Edward S., Jr. "A Re-Examination of Thoreau's 'Walden.'" *Quar. Jour. of Biology*, XVII, 1-11 (March, 1942).

"However untrustworthy Thoreau's ornithology may have been, his contribution to at least one natural science, limnology, was original and genuine"; he may "with justice be called the first American limnologist."

McGill, Frederick T. "Thoreau and College Discipline." *New Eng. Quar.*, XV, 349-353 (June, 1942).

The future prophet of civil disobedience, although amused by the antics of his classmates, seems to have obeyed the rules of his college.

[WHITE, J. B.] Weidner, Paul R. "The Journal of John Blake White." *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, XLIII, 103-117, 161-174 (April and June, 1942).

Concluded.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Shackford, Martha Hale. "Whittier and Some Cousins." *New Eng. Quar.*, XV, 467-496 (Sept., 1942).

Hitherto unpublished letters present an informal and pleasant account of the relationships of the poet to a group of Friends to whom family ties meant much.

[WILLIS, N. P.] Scudder, Harold H. "Thackeray and N. P. Willis." *PMLA*, LVII, 589-592 (June, 1942).

After employing the English author to write for a short-lived American magazine, Willis was bitterly satirized by Thackeray, probably even in *Vanity Fair* as Mr. John Paul Jefferson Jones. (Chap. xv.)

[MISCELLANEOUS] Beder, Elizabeth F. "Kingston to Newson to Blake; or, Bibliographical Adventures Among the Indians." *Bul. of the N. Y. Pub. Libr.*, XLVI, 525-530 (June, 1942).

On problems of the establishment of the authorship of *Anecdotes of the American Indians,* 1844—finally catalogued as anonymous.

Carpenter, Frederic Ives. "The Genteel Tradition: A Re-Interpretation." *New Eng. Quar.*, XV, 427-443 (Sept., 1942).

The genteel tradition, derived from the conservative half of Puritanism and from the traditionally aristocratic culture of the Central and Southern states, has become reactionary only when divorced from forces of change and renewal, and has contributed "something basic" to our culture.

Coad, Oral Sumner. "The First Century of the New Brunswick Stage. Part II. From the Civil War to 1871." *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Libr.*, V, 78-89 (June, 1942).

To be concluded.

Maddox, Notley S. "Literary Nationalism in *Putnam's Magazine,* 1853-1857." *Amer. Lit.*, XIV, 117-125 (May, 1942).

The editorial policy of *Putnam's* toward native writers "was one of cordial appreciation, tempered with an insistence upon the desirability of careful criticism which should help the nation . . . toward intellectual and artistic maturity."

Stearns, Monroe M. "The Good Die Young." *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Libr.*, V, 71-77 (June, 1942).

An account of pious lives of children in the early nineteenth century.

Wilson, J. B. "Antecedents of Brook Farm." *New Eng. Quar.*, XV 320-331 (June, 1942).

Brook Farm was patterned partly after Holbrook's Agricultural Seminary and his Lyceum Village, partly after Pestalozzi's farm school at Neuhof, Switzerland.

III. 1870-1900

[ADAMS, HENRY] Edwards, Herbert. "The Prophetic Mind of Henry Adams." *Coll. Engl.*, III, 708-721 (May, 1942).

Able to the point of genius and endowed with prophetic vision, Adams was an anachronism born a generation ahead of his time.

[BEADLE, E. F.] Lutes, Della T. "The Dime Delights of Mr. Beadle." *Christian Science Mon.*, XXXIV, 6, 15 (Aug. 1, 1942).

An anecdotal sketch, with illustrations, of Erastus Flavel Beadle ("Dime Novel Beadle"), who supplied uncritical readers of the sixties and seventies with "romance, glamour, thrills."

[Bellamy, Edward] Madison, Charles A. "Edward Bellamy, Social Dreamer." *New Eng. Quar.*, XV, 444-466 (Sept., 1942).

The facts of Bellamy's life argue against the assumption of critics that *Looking Backward* was an accident, i.e., that the author stumbled on his plan of economic equality in an effort to write a romance of social fantasy.

[Clemens, S. L.] Anon. "Letters to James Redpath from Samuel L. Clemens." *Mark Twain Quar.*, V, 19-21 (Winter-Spring, 1942).

Letters written in 1870 and 1871 to the manager of a lecture bureau.

Clemens, Cyril. "Mark Twain's Washington in 1868." *Mark Twain Quar.*, V, 1-16 (Summer, 1942).

Newspaper correspondence from Washington tells of Clemens's life in the capital.

Ferguson, DeLancey. "Mark Twain's Comstock Duel: The Birth of a Legend." *Amer. Lit.*, XIV, 66-70 (March, 1942).

The *Autobiography* version of "How I Escaped Being Killed in a Duel" reveals that the author in 1906 related the literary adventures of Mark Twain, not the literal adventures of Samuel L. Clemens.

Vogelback, Arthur Lawrence. "*The Prince and the Pauper:* A Study in Critical Standards." *Amer. Lit.*, XIV, 48-54 (March, 1942).

The Prince and the Pauper was the first work on which critics agreed that Clemens displayed notable abilities as a serious writer and literary artist; it fitted perfectly with the genteel tradition.

[Fisher, H. G.] Allen, George. "Two Pennsylvania-Dutch Poets." *Amer.-Germ. Rev.*, VIII, 10-12, 34 (Aug., 1942).

A study of the dialect poets Henry Lee Fisher and Henry Harbaugh.

[Flower, B. O.] Dickason, David H. "Benjamin Orange Flower, Patron of the Realists." *Amer. Lit.*, XIV, 148-156 (May, 1942).

As editor of the *Arena* from 1889 to 1909, Flower energetically defended realistic writers, "gave a vital impetus to their writings, and helped to establish realism in modern American letters."

[Foster, Stephen] DeVoto, Bernard. "Stephen Foster's Songs." *Harper's Mag.*, No. 1093, pp. 109-112 (June, 1942).

Foster should not be dismissed as just a folk artist. His songs expressed and helped to formulate the realization of the beginning of national unity.

[Foote, Mary Hallock] Davidson, Levette Jay. "Letters from Authors." *Colorado Mag.*, XIX, 122-126 (July, 1942).

Prints, among others, letters written by Mrs. Foote in 1922 to the Curator of the State Historical Society of Colorado, including her reminiscence of meeting Helen Hunt Jackson.

[HARBAUGH, HENRY] See above, *s.v.* FISHER.

[HOWARD, BRONSON] Halline, Allan G. "Bronson Howard's *The Amateur Benefit*." *Amer. Lit.*, XIV, 74-76 (March, 1942).

A typescript copy of *The Amateur Benefit* recently discovered in the Library is a jejune satire on amateur theatricals.

[JACKSON, HELEN HUNT] See above, *s.v.* FOOTE.

[JAMES, HENRY] Blackmur, R. P. "The Sacred Fount." *Kenyon Rev.*, IV, 328-352 (Autumn, 1942).

The Sacred Fount should be approached in the light of James's earlier ghost stories; it may be called "the last lucid nightmare of James's hallucinated struggle with his conscience as a novelist."

[JAMES, WILLIAM] Ament, William S. "William James as a Man of Letters." *Personalist*, XXIII, 199-206 (Spring, 1942).

Bixler, Julius Seelye. "Two Questions Raised by William James's Essay on 'The Moral Equivalent of War.'" *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, XXV, 117-129 (April, 1942).

"First, what changes occur in a biologically oriented pragmatic philosophy when it defends coöperative ideals . . . ? And second, what happens to a thorough-going individualism when it adopts a position . . . nearly socialistic?"

Lyman, Eugene W. "William James: Philosopher of Faith." *Jour. of Rel.*, XXII, 233-250 (June, 1942).

[JEWETT, SARAH ORNE] Anon. "A Letter by Sarah Orne Jewett." *Colby Mercury*, VII, 82-83 (April, 1942).

To Mrs. Sarah Holland, dated Manchester by the Sea, August 26, [1901].

[MILLER, JOAQUIN] Gohdes, Clarence. "Some Letters of Joaquin Miller to Lord Houghton." *Mod. Lang. Quar.*, III, 297-306 (June, 1942).

Nine letters between 1873 and 1878 published in full; six others summarized.

[TAYLOR, BAYARD] Frenz, Horst. "Bayard Taylor and the Reception of Goethe in America." *Jour. of Engl. and Germ. Philol.*, XLI, 125-139 (April, 1942).

A history of Taylor's occupation as "one of the foremost critical interpreters" of the German poet, from Taylor's visit to Weimar in 1858 to the uncompleted biography of Goethe.

[TURNER, F. J.] Craven, Avery. "Frederick Jackson Turner, Historian." *Wisconsin Mag. of Hist.*, XXV, 408-424 (June, 1942).

An appreciative estimate.

Pierson, George Wilson. See below, *s.v.* GENERAL.

[WHITMAN, WALT] Beck, Maximilian. "Walt Whitman's Intuition of Reality." *Ethics,* LIII, 14-24 (Oct., 1942).

For Whitman the principle of value in all things does not lie in any special form or quality, but in their sheer actual reality. He is attempting to communicate a democratic metaphysics indirectly by emphasizing the worth of all being.

Bradley, Sculley. "The Problem of a Variorum Edition of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass.*" *Engl. Inst. Annual,* 1941, pp. 129-158.

Hubach, Robert R. "Three Uncollected St. Louis Interviews of Walt Whitman." *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 141-147 (May, 1942).

From St. Louis newspapers in September and October, 1879.

Smith, Fred Manning. "Whitman's Debt to Carlyle's 'Sartor Resartus.'" *Mod. Lang. Quar.,* III, 51-65 (March, 1942).

Sartor Resartus and others of Carlyle's works were Whitman's study while he was making notes for *Leaves of Grass:* "Carlyle can lay as good a claim to being the Master of Whitman as Emerson."

Soto Paz, Rafael. "Un gran poeta." *America; revista de la asociación de escritores y artistas americanos,* X, 5 (June, 1941).

"No one has been able to deny the vital energy of his poetry, his cosmic sense, his democratic spirit, his generous heart, and his sympathy for things of the people."

Spiegelman, Julia. "Walt Whitman and Music." *So. Atlantic Quar.,* XLI, 167-176 (April, 1942).

Emphasis is placed on (1) what music meant to Whitman and (2) what Whitman has meant to musicians. Although he lacked musical training, Whitman showed a decided liking for varied types: Italian opera, concerts, Negro minstrels.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Rose, L. A. "Shortcomings of 'Muckraking in the Gilded Age.'" *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 161-164 (May, 1942).

Points out inaccuracies and inadequacies in Edward Cassady's article, in *Amer. Lit.,* XIII, 134-141 (May, 1941).

IV. 1900-1942

[BACHELLER, IRVING] Watkins, Edna W. "The Irving Bacheller Collection." *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar. Bul.,* XXVI, 64 (July, 1942).

[BLACKMUR, R. P.] Baker, Carlos. "R. P. Blackmur: A Checklist." *Princeton Univ. Libr. Chron.,* III, 99-106 (April, 1942).

[BOYLE, KAY] Anon. "Kay Boyle." *Current Biog.,* III, 13-15 (June, 1942).

[BROMFIELD, LOUIS] Derrenbacher, Merle. "Louis Bromfield: A Bibliography. Part II." *Bul. of Bibl.,* XVII, 141-145 (Jan.-April, 1942).

[Brooks, Van Wyck] Wellek, René. "Van Wyck Brooks and a National Literature." *Amer. Prefaces,* VII, 292-306 (Summer, 1942).

A Czech critic finds Mr. Brooks a romantic nationalist of the nineteenth-century tradition.

[Canby, H. S.] Anon. "Henry Seidel Canby." *Current Biog.,* III, 3-8 (Sept., 1942).

A detailed biographical essay and a useful bibliography.

[Dos Passos, John] Bradford, Curtis B. "John Dos Passos—A Defense." *Univ. Rev.,* VIII, 267-272 (Summer, 1942).

"The effect of reading Dos Passos is not the cynical and adolescent despair complained of by Mr. Brooks, nor that annihilation of belief in democratic social arrangements which Archibald MacLeish bewails. Rather Dos Passos helps us in forming a hierarchy of values."

[Edmunds, W. D.] Anon. "Walter D(umaux) Edmonds." *Current Biog.,* III, 10-13 (Sept., 1942).

[Engle, Paul] Anon. "Paul (Hamilton) Engle." *Current Biog.,* III, 20-23 (June, 1942).

Life of the Iowa poet "who sings the affirmation of America in the Whitman tradition."

[Farrell, James T.] Anon. "James T(homas) Farrell." *Current Biog.,* III, 13-16 (Sept., 1942).

Sketch of Farrell's Chicago slum experiences, and summaries of the praise and condemnation of his violent realism.

[Frost, Robert] Anon. "Robert (Lee) Frost." *Current Biog.,* III, 18-22 (Sept., 1942).

Contains a useful bibliography of articles about Frost.

[Hemingway, Ernest] Brooks, Cleanth, and Warren, Robert Penn. "The Killers." *Amer. Prefaces,* VII, 195-209 (Spring, 1942).

Observations on the technique of Hemingway's story.

[Hicks, Granville] Anon. "Granville Hicks." *Current Biog.,* III, 43-46 (May, 1942).

Summing up of Hicks's controversial career.

[Moore, Merrill] Wells, F. L. "The Mental Measure of Merrill Moore." *Life and Letters Today,* XXI, 27-35 (March, 1939).

[Rawlings, Marjorie Kinnan] Anon. "Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings." *Current Biog.,* III, 65-68 (July, 1942).

". . . the staunchest Southerners are Northern-born. They love the South as Southerners do, but they see it with the freshness of unaccustomed eyes."

[Robinson, E. A.] Burns, Winifred. "Edwin Arlington Robinson in the Hands of the Reviewers." *Poet Lore,* XLVIII, 164-175 (Summer, 1942).

Robinson pursued his poetical work in spite of lack of critical appreciation. Contains a bibliography (pp. 171-175) of reviews of each of his volumes.

Dauner, Louise. "Avon and Cavender: Two Children of the Night." *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 55-65 (March, 1942).

The images of Light and Night are characteristic symbols in the moral pattern of Robinson's poety; both Avon and Cavender inhabit dark worlds because they are both blind to the Light which is for Robinson the only guide out of man's spiritual wilderness.

———. "Vox Clamantis: Edwin Arlington Robinson as a Critic of American Democracy." *New Eng. Quar.,* XV, 401-426 (Sept., 1942).

The concept of "the good man" assuming a personal obligation to his society, and reinvesting his resources for the enrichment of the Whole Good underlies both the "character" poems and the "social" poems.

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Lewis, Theophilus. "The Frustration of Negro Art." *Catholic World,* CLV, 51-57 (April, 1942).

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Sancton, Thomas. "The New York Myth." *New Republic,* CVII, 112-114 (July 27, 1942).

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Contrast mainly of mechanical improvements.

Voigt, Gilbert P. "Rejected Masterpieces." *So. Atlantic Quar.,* XLI, 327-332 (July, 1942).

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Wecter, Dixon. "The Hero and the American Artist." *So. Atlantic Quar.,* XLI, 275-287 (July, 1942).

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Winton, Harry N. M. "A Pacific Northwest Bibliography, 1941." *Pacific Northwest Quar.,* XXXIII, 187-203 (April, 1942).

O. HENRY'S CASE RECONSIDERED

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THE BIOGRAPHERS of William Sidney Porter, better known as O. Henry, leave the impression that Porter was not guilty of the charge of embezzlement for which he was sent to prison. Statements that the charges were without foundation and that the accused was an innocent man in spite of the fact that he served a sentence in the penitentiary are not infrequent.[1] The records on file and the testimony of many who were intimately acquainted with the circumstances under which the charges were made and the trial conducted do not agree with the published statements of the biographers. The truth is that there seems to be little doubt of the technical guilt of Porter. His transgression of the law, when examined carefully with all the facts in mind, need not put him into the criminal class; on the contrary, the situation under which he committed an offense offers excuse for his action and the attitude of his friends reveals to posterity the inherent nature of the man.

This paper will discuss the evidence that points to O. Henry's culpability as charged in his trial. It will also show that the manner in which business was transacted in many Texas banks was lax and that the esteem in which Porter was held protected him from public condemnation.

Porter came to Austin from Hall's Ranch in LaSalle County in 1884. After a residence of seven years in Austin he secured a position in the First National Bank, where he served as teller and bookkeeper for a period of four years, 1891 to the end of 1894. His chief preparation for the work in the bank was the experience that he had had as a draftsman in the Land Office the preceding four years.

In the summer of 1894 a bank examiner found a discrepancy in the books of the bank. Because of his position, not because of his reputation, suspicion pointed to Porter. The examiner insisted that the guilty person be exposed and brought to trial. The matter was referred to the grand jury for investigation. The result of the investigation was a "no bill." Robert U. Culberson, District Attorney for the United States Western District, according to an Associated Press dispatch,[2] granted permission to Frank Hamilton, part owner of the bank, to appear before the grand jury to explain the discrepancy and to make appeal for Porter. Mr. Culberson believed that it was the appeal of Hamilton that caused the grand jury to find the "no bill." Later the bank examiner, F. B. Gray, upon finding further discrepancies, insisted upon a second investigation of the shortage, which investigation resulted in a "true bill."

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[1] Robert H. Davis and Arthur B. Maurice, *The Caliph of Bagdad* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1931), chap. vii; Al Jennings, *Through the Shadows with O. Henry* (New York: H. K. Fly Co., 1921), p. 107; Frances Goggin Maltby, *The Dimity Sweetheart* (Richmond: Press of the Dietz Printing Co., 1930), p. 56; C. Alphonso Smith, *O. Henry Biography* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1916), p. 144; and Lollie Cove Wilson, *Hard to Forget* (Los Angeles: Lymanhouse, 1939), p. 145.

Porter resigned his position in the bank late in 1894, but he remained in Austin till he was offered a position on the reportorial staff of the Houston *Post* in October of the following year. The offer was gladly accepted, and he went immediately to Houston, where he remained in the employ of the *Post* till July, 1896. Apparently during this period he gave little evidence of being disturbed concerning his conduct as a bank employee in Austin. Even in February, 1896, when he was indicted for embezzlement of funds of the bank in which he had formerly been employed, there was not much manifestation of concern on his part. Porter made a hurried visit to Austin to arrange bond in the pending case and had no difficulty in giving security for his appearance at court when his case should be called.

According to records filed in Austin his residence for the preceeding four months had been continuously in Houston. Porter stated "that the charge embraced in the indictment is so general in its terms that it will require a critical examination of the books of the said bank during the entire time that the defendant was employed therein to enable him to ascertain exactly what transactions form the basis of said indictment."[3] This statement—considered in the light of Gray's letter containing the positive declaration that many instances of Porter's embezzlement had been revealed by an examination of the bank's books and in the light of Culberson's affirmation that in 1894 "the bank owners made up the shortage"[4] charged to Porter—seems to indicate doubt in the mind of the former teller concerning what a careful examination of the books would show. Possibly some of the "transactions" were better covered than others. It was not before the middle of March, some four weeks later, that Porter filed an affidavit in Austin that he had secured the services of an attorney. At this time he asked for a continuance of his case; his request was granted, and the trial was set for the July term of court.[5]

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[2] Austin *American*, Dec. 20, 1937. The influence of Hamilton's appeal to the grand jury is corroborated in a letter from F. B. Gray, bank examiner, to the Comptroller of Currency, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. This letter, which bears the date of July 13, 1895, may be found in File No. 7243, 1891, of the Department of Justice. The file was made available to me through the courtesy of Senator Tom Connally of Texas. Insofar as I am able to ascertain, this material has not been used in any article concerning the O. Henry trial.

[3] Court records, *United States* v. *W. S. Porter*, Austin, Texas.

During the first week in July, 1896, Porter left Houston for Austin to stand his trial. At Hempstead, fifty miles out of Houston, he changed trains and went to New Orleans. How long he remained in New Orleans and what he did there are matters of opinion.[6] It is generally conceded that from here Porter went to Honduras. In January, 1897, while in Honduras, he received word that his wife was critically ill. Immediately upon receipt of this information he determined to return to Austin, where Mrs. Porter was then living. Of course, he knew what his return would mean: he would have to face the charge of embezzlement with the added charge of having run away from trial seven months before.

Again in Austin in February, 1897, Porter was forced to make new bond. Roach and Pressler, his former bondsmen, became surety a second time for his appearance at trial. Porter was allowed complete freedom until his case was actually brought to trial on February 15, 1898, two full years after the original indictment.

The court records show that Porter was tried on five charges, numbered 1145, 1147, 1148, 1174, and 1175. But there were other charges. Gray, the bank examiner, reported to the Comptroller of Currency that an examination of the books of the bank "showed exactly fifty instances where he had unquestionably embezzled the Bank's money, making an aggregate of $5654.20."[7] Because of the consolidation of two cases and the disqualification of others, due to statute limitations, there were only three charges to be considered by the trial jury. Of the three cases, numbers 1148 and 1175, each for the identical amount of $299.60 and dated respectively November 12, 1894, and November 12, 1895, were by order of Judge Maxey to be considered as one case.[8]

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[4] Austin *American,* Dec. 20, 1937.

[5] Edmund Travis, "O. Henry Enters the Shadows," *Bunker's Monthly,* I, 675 (May, 1928).

[6] Davis and Maurice, *op. cit.,* p. 91.

[7] Gray's letter, p. 2.

It is concerning case 1175, which charged embezzlement on November 12, 1895, that much has been said of the injustice of the sentence imposed upon Porter.[9] As shown above, the accused had not been in the employ of the bank during the preceding eleven or twelve months; therefore embezzlement on the date indicated was impossible. Yet in spite of the fact that no exceptions were made and that no writ of error was offered by Porter's counsel, the Judge instructed that case 1175 should not be considered as a separate case. His order was that cases 1175 and 1148 were to be considered as one. This instruction from the Bench should make clear the error found in the frequent assertion that Porter was a victim of circumstance. Obviously, case 1175, though specifically mentioned in the jury's verdict and in the announcement of the sentence at the end of the trial, was not a basis for the sentence. Judge Maxey recognized the fact that since this case had been presented to the jury for consideration it must have the attention of the court.

At the trial Porter's attorneys, Ward and James, presented demurrers, usually offered in such cases, but failed in their efforts to have the indictment quashed. The United States District Attorney, Robert U. Culberson, assisted by Duval West, conducted the prosecution. Thomas E. Maxey was the presiding judge and Charles E. Pickle was the court stenographer. The records of the trial are incomplete. In 1935 Pickle[10] assured me that it was not the custom in 1898 to make complete records in all trials and that he did not make stenographic reports of the testimony or of the pleadings in the Porter case. In the court files are sheets of paper upon which are written a few suggestive questions which were evidently intended for use in the trial. From these sheets it is impossible to reconstruct either the testimony for or against the defendant in the case.

Because of adverse criticism of the attitude of District Attorney Culberson concerning the matter of shortages in national banks, it might reasonably be expected that he would have exerted himself to the utmost to bring about a conviction in the Porter trial. In the correspondence between the bank examiner and the Department of Justice in Washington, attention had been called to apparent lack of interest on the part of the District Attorney in certain cases of shortage. The charges against Porter were specifically mentioned in the correspondence. A letter from the Attorney General addressed to Culberson under date of July 25, 1895, contains the following statement: "Instead of the way of the transgressor being hard in your jurisdiction, according to the Comptroller of the Currency, it is like being carried to the skies on flowery beds of ease, if the transgression happens to be against the national banking laws of the United States."[11] This statement grew out of a letter of complaint sent to the Comptroller of the Currency by Examiner Gray. After investigation had been made, Culberson was completely exonerated by the Attorney General.

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[8] Maxey's charge to the jury in *United States* v. *W. S. Porter*, p. 1.

[9] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144.

[10] Pickle's death occurred in 1937.

In June, 1897, and again on January 23, 1898, District Attorney Culberson requisitioned the services of Examiner Gray as a witness in the Porter case then pending. Permission to use Gray as a witness in the case was granted in a letter of January 29, 1898. While there is no record in the Austin file of the evidence given in the trial, we do know that Gray was used as a witness, for under date of March 3, 1898, the Attorney General's Office authorized the payment of $138.40 to F. B. Gray "for services and expenses in connection with the case of United States vs. W. S. Porter."[12] No doubt the testimony of Gray at the trial was similar to that found in his letters referring to the charges against Porter in the matter of shortages in the bank. The substance of the testimony may be seen in the following excerpt from a letter by Gray to the Comptroller of the Currency, July 13, 1895:

> Another item was where he sold a draft on the San Antonio Nat'l Bank for $554.48 and failed to credit it. I had the purchaser of the draft on hand to prove that he bought and paid for it, also had the cancelled draft to show that it had been paid by the San Antonio Nat'l Bank. The monthly statement rendered by the San Antonio Nat'l Bank had been checked by Porter and reported correct though this check appeared charged in the account. Cash account in none of these instances showed over, hence it was to my mind conclusive evidence that he embezzled the money.[13]

[11] Department of Justice File, No. 7243, 1891. See *Instruction Book* No. 54, p. 434.

[12] Department of Justice File, No. 3227-98. See *Instruction Book* No. 93, p. 366.

[13] Department of Justice File, No. 10547, 1895, File Number 7243, 1891.

The entire discussion of the manner of posting what had been paid out or received tends to show that Porter's irregularities in bookkeeping were not because of his ignorance or carelessness, but because of his desire to cover up the misappropriation of funds.

When the testimony was all in and the arguments had been offered by the opposing counsels, Judge Maxey delivered his charge to the jury. The charge is a carefully worded document that leaves no doubt of the Judge's desire for simple justice according to the evidence submitted in the case. There is likewise no indication anywhere in the proceedings of the trial that the District Attorney was trying to make an example of Porter. The case was not concluded till February 17, upon which date the foreman of the jury, W. B. Barr, brought in the following verdict: "We the jury find the defendant guilty as charged in the indictments numbered 1148, 1174, and 1175 respectively." On Friday, March 25, 1898, Judge Maxey handed down his decision. It was that Porter "be imprisoned in the Ohio State Penitentiary at Columbus, State of Ohio, for the period of five (5) years from this date."[14]

The guilt or innocence of Porter was not finally determined by the trial at Austin, for after the verdict of the trial court was handed down, there was an appeal to the higher courts for a review of the evidence and proceedings of the District Court. The records in Austin show that the "Attorneys of W. S. Porter entered a Petition for a Writ of Error in the Consolidated Cases Numbers 1148, 1174, 1175 for hearing before the United States Court of Appeals for the fifth district for correction of errors." The notation "Granted April 20th, A. D. 1898" appears on the record. It is likewise recorded that the attorneys offered a Bill of Exceptions for these cases and requested the Judge to charge the trial jury that since the Government had failed to establish proof of embezzlement of funds from the bank by the defendant, that said defendant be found "not guilty." The Judge refused to make the charge to the jury, but he did sign the Bill of Exceptions on March 31, 1898, and ordered that the exception be allowed to become a part of the record.

The correspondence on file in the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., shows that Porter's case was set for consideration by the Appellate Court in New Orleans for November 21, 1898. It is listed as "No. 725 W. S. Porter vs. United States."[15] In the same file is found the authorization of the United States Attorney, J. Ward Gurley of New Orleans, to take charge of the case. The Court of Appeals affirmed the decision of the lower court on December 13, 1898.[16] It seems reasonably clear from the evidence submitted, the failure of Porter's counsel to establish his innocence, the finding of the trial court, the careful review of the Appellate Court, and the affirmation by that court of the trial court's finding that Porter was guilty of embezzlement of funds as charged in the original indictment. There is no evidence in the court proceedings in Austin or in New Orleans that there was a miscarriage of justice in the case of *United States* v. *William Sidney Porter*.[17]

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[14] Trial Records, Austin, Texas. Under date of Aug. 5, 1938, R. J. Brannon, an official of the Columbus, Ohio, Penitentiary, wrote me that "Porter was admitted to the Ohio Penitentiary on April 25, 1898, and became number 30664."

Practices in banking circles in 1894 differed radically from those observed today; certainly, recorded incidents in the First National Bank of Austin, where Porter was teller, would not be allowed at present. The lax system then in vogue resulted in frequent failures to balance the books at the end of the day's work. It seems that any official in the bank felt privileged to remove cash from the tills with no other notice than a slip of paper upon which a statement of amount removed was recorded. In fact there were instances in which cash was taken with not even the slip's being left to call attention to the removal. Sometimes it would be several days before the "borrower" would remember to make a record of his borrowings. During the lunch hour someone other than the teller, who was responsible for the balancing of the books at the conclusion of business for the day, would serve at the window. This was true in Porter's case, for the cashier often disbursed funds at Porter's window in the teller's absence.[18]

Further evidence of lax business methods in the First National

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[15] File No. 1469, 1898, 14973, 1897.

[16] Truman O'Quinn, "O. Henry in Austin," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XLII, 156 (Oct., 1937).

[17] Hyder Rollins calls attention to the failure of O. Henry biographies in dealing with the trial of Porter. See *Nation,* CIV, 51-52 (Jan. 11, 1917), and *Saturday Review of Literature,* VII, 922-923 (June 27, 1931).

[18] The lax banking system is discussed in the following: Austin *American,* Dec. 20, 1937; *Banker's Monthly,* I, 504 (April, 1928); Gray's letter of July 13, 1895, File Number 7243, 1891, p. 3; Maltby, *op. cit.,* p. 56; Smith, *op. cit.,* p. 136; Wilson, *op. cit.,* p. 139. Many newspaper articles concerning the Porter case have likewise called attention to the lax system.

Bank of Austin is seen in the statement of Hamilton to the United States District Attorney and to the grand jury that first investigated the charges against Porter to the effect that Porter's failure to credit off certain items "was only a series of mistakes and that he should not be prosecuted."[19] Throughout the letter Gray shows that Porter made a practice of changing the records of some transactions involving money to suit his own purposes. The cash and credit accounts were made to meet the exigency of the occasion. True, Porter was not the originator of this method of handling entries; he was merely following a practice of long standing in a banking institution where the officers seemed to care little for proper business methods. But the practice was known to be culpable; hence the blamelessness of Porter cannot be established.

Those who knew Porter tell us that he was often distressed about the conditions at the bank, and frequently expressed the wish that a remedy might be found for the lax system in vogue.[20] This desire for a remedy of conditions was definitely shared by the bank examiners.

Much has been made of the friendships of Porter during his Austin days and later. Few of the older residents of Austin fail to claim intimate acquaintance with the short-story writer; few fail to speak in the highest terms of his geniality and his sense of humor. Upon the question of his guilt or innocence, there is a definite division. I have talked to numbers of people in Austin, in Houston, and in various other places in Texas who assert that they were personally acquainted with Porter. Of almost every one of those with whom I have talked, I have asked the question: "Do you believe that Porter was guilty of embezzlement of bank funds?" Many have expressed decided opinion that there was no vestige of truth in the charge, that Porter was incapable of doing a dishonest act; almost an equal number have admitted that Porter was technically guilty of the charge on which he was tried and convicted. Of this latter group there are comparatively few who consent to be quoted. The attitude of this group may be summed up about as follows: "Yes, it may be that Porter took money for his personal

[19] Gray's letter, *loc. cit.*

[20] Maltby, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Hyder E. Rollins, "O. Henry's Texas Days," *Bookman*, XL, 162 (Oct., 1914); Travis, *op. cit.*, p. 675; Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 ff.

use, but the banking system of the day was such that little blame can be attached to his act."

Mr. D. K. Hart, who was District Clerk in the court in which Porter's case was tried, assured me that there were no irregularities in Porter's trial, that everything in connection therewith was carried out according to proper court practices. Charles Pickle, the court reporter, had much the same opinion held by the Clerk. He said to me: "I have a clear recollection that during the trial Mr. Porter sat with his chair tilted backwards and his hands clasped behind his head, looking on in a somewhat bored manner." Others testify to the fact that Porter seemed little interested in the outcome of the case. Whether this apparent indifference was because the accused thought there was no possibility of his having an unbiased trial or whether he thought there was no likelihood of his guilt's being proved is a matter upon which people do not agree.

Mr. W. H. Folts, now president of the Austin National Bank, states: "Porter was probably guilty of technical wrong, but he was not a criminal at heart." Mr. Folts was intimately acquainted with the banking conditions at the First National Bank of Austin when Porter was employed as teller and bookkeeper in that institution. In fact, he was asked by the president of the old bank to balance the books of the bank about the time of the Porter trouble. This task Mr. Folts refused to undertake because he was not an expert bookkeeper.

Mr. John Maxcy, now a retired consulting engineer, was a long-time intimate friend of Porter before and after the troublous days of the embezzlement trial in the nineties. Maxcy believes that Porter was guilty of embezzlement, but that he fully intended to return the money. According to Mr. Maxcy's belief, Porter took the money to help finance the *Rolling Stone,* which at that time was hard pressed to make expenses. Porter believed that his paper would shortly be on a profit basis and that he would be able to reimburse the bank for the funds misplaced. Mr. Maxcy further told me that, when on several occasions he found Porter in financial straits after the latter went to New York, he almost forced money upon Porter, who without exception returned the loans within a short while. The loans were always paid by money order, never by personal check.

One of the last circulation managers for the *Rolling Stone* told me in 1935 that he had made a careful study of the matter of Porter's trial. His study showed that Porter's income from salary, sale of papers, and advertisements during the period of publication was insufficient to run the paper after deduction of Porter's living expenses. It further showed that the insufficiency was almost the same amount of money for which Porter was indicted for embezzlement.[21] This associate in business did not believe that Porter was a criminal, but he thought that there had been no miscarriage of justice if men who take money that does not belong to them should be punished.

The opinions cited above could be extended at length were it not a violation of confidence to write what was told with the understanding that no publicity would be given. In all the discussion concerning the innocence or guilt of Porter, I have found extremely few persons who were inclined to distrust Porter to any marked extent. There was nearly always a distinct regret expressed that a belief in the technical guilt of the man was justifiable.

In consideration of the evidence as a whole, one is faced by some pertinent questions. If the belief in Porter's innocence was so general, why were there no concerted efforts to present evidence at the trial that would have left no doubt as to his integrity? All the testimony points to the fact that his friends did little to relieve the burden of the accused man at the time of the trial. If his conviction were a matter of "circumstance," why did not his friends secure a pardon? Porter's friend and fellow inmate of the penitentiary in Columbus, Al Jennings, an acknowledged outlaw from Oklahoma, did secure a pardon and have his citizenship restored. Jennings protests that he was innocent of the crime for which he was convicted, but he readily admits that he had frequently stepped beyond the established boundary of the law.[22] There is no criticism of the leniency shown to Jennings. The question, however, still comes up: Why was there no leniency for one who, his friends and associates declared, was unjustly imprisoned? Why did justice fail to function if injustice had actually been done?

[21] The total amount for which Porter was tried was $854.08.

[22] Such admissions are frequently met with in Jennings's *Through the Shadows with O. Henry*. Mr. Jennings has talked freely with me on several occasions of his adventures in and out of the penitentiary.

In the light of what has been said, certain conclusions may be reached. Porter's evident desire to conceal his misappropriation of funds, the nature of the charges, the final verdict, the affirmation of the findings by the Appellate Court, and the failure to secure a pardon—all point to O. Henry's guilt. The offense, however, was mitigated in the eyes of friends and acquaintances because of the inherent nature of the short-story writer. Many who knew him would not admit his guilt because they felt that basically there was no purposeful design of wrongdoing. This attitude toward a man who was without doubt technically guilty is a tribute of high order. When one considers all the facts which indicate O. Henry's guilt, one is best able to understand the conduct of a man innately good at heart.

THE POETRY OF E. E. CUMMINGS

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E. E. CUMMINGS is one of the few modern poets who write about beautiful things simply. Much contemporary poetry is concerned with the analysis of states of mind for the sake of philosophic or social comment. Poetry of this sort is often written in some dramatic form, soliloquy or dialogue or drama, although not often with the theater in mind. Such forms are apparently designed to express a kind of half-spoken conversation, carried on by the poet within himself, and the argument is defined indirectly. The comment is rarely outspoken. There are exceptions, of course, but most modern poets are not concerned very much with declaring that the beauty of their experience is proof of the power of beauty. Yeats's poetry cannot be easily categorized, but Cummings is surely the modern poet who has most consistently aimed at lyric expression in the direct manner. He has persisted in this over many years although possessed with rather full knowledge of the intellectual and social confusion that has caused other poets to turn to argument. He has remained a lyric poet because he has not been interested in questioning and doubting; he has been constantly searching but he has always known what he is searching for.

The constancy of his aim is even to be seen in some remarks with which he interrupted a reporter who was interviewing him recently: "Do you hear a sound? That sound isn't promising anything or proving anything or explaining or excusing anything or meaning anything or—pardon me for speaking frankly—selling or buying anything. Truth doesn't sell or buy: truth sings. I hear singing."[1] By this I think he does not mean some sound heard by the ear, but by an inner sense, that the truth of experience is not in the mere experience but in some informing idea, some idea comparable to that of the music of the spheres. Truth is effective and powerful because it sings, because it is beautiful.

It is to such a tune running in his head—to borrow the phrase from Yeats—that Cummings has written poetry. The images he has been most drawn to, however, have not been those of singing but of flowers. In one of his novels he wrote: "There is an I Feel; an actual universe or alive of which our merely real world or thinking existence is at best a bad, at worst a murderous, mistranslation; flowers give me this actual universe."[2] His first volume of verse (1923) was called *Tulips and Chimneys,* and everywhere in the poems that have followed, flowers represent what he has found most beautiful in the world, the actual universe. Again and again these become the images and idols of his contemplation and expression.

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[1] *PM's Weekly*, Feb. 16, 1941, p. 60.

Cummings's career in print began with a novel, *The Enormous Room,* in 1922. After graduating from Harvard he had served with an ambulance corps in France before the United States entered the war, and there through one of the blunders of the French he and a friend were confined to a concentration camp near the Pyrenees for some months, confined with people who by the record might appear to have been the scum of the earth. But Cummings found some of them to be characters of overpowering excellence: Jean le Nègre, a simple giant, terrible in strength and tenderness; the Gypsy with his quietly glorious wife and their gold-colored babies; the Zulu, who had the great calm of the Delectable Mountains. Here Cummings discovered and re-created such virtue and beauty as are hardly to be found in any other contemporary writer. And here he seems to have taken a direction he was never to give up, a strict and rich attention to the particular beauty that belongs to the humble.

But in the strange world of New York and Paris after the war such simple service was very often undertaken as part of the revolt against a society that for many people no longer seemed to deserve much loyalty. As after any great collective effort when individuals are closely confined in their personal aims, there was the reaction to extreme individualism and much disillusionment. Cummings was one of those swept by this anarchic surge, but more than most he maintained his central integrity even while in some particulars he surrendered to what was tawdry. Still believing in virtue, he seemed to assert it was to be found only among the downtrodden, which is a rather comfortable way of escaping from Brattle Street. Insofar as he was rebelling against complacency and dullness and arrogance he was being true to himself, but in exaggerating the virtues of the underworld he submitted himself to an unnecessary strain and artificiality. He found support, of course, in the irresponsible criticism and casual immorality of many people in the twenties. So it was partly as one of the smart set and partly as a simple and wondering child that he found his way into the company of whores and small criminals, of the people of the circus and the burlesque theaters, of the coffeehouses and the radical hang-outs.[3] But if this was the way he chose to run away from Brattle Street, he had learned once and for all in the enormous room to appreciate the worth of humility. It did not seem to matter that a certain narrowness of temperament might lead him to sacrifice more than was necessary to retain this sympathy.

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[2] *Eimi* (New York: Covici, Friede, 1933), pp. 104-105. All passages from Cummings's works quoted in this article are reprinted by permission of the publishers of his various books.

He has spent his feeling, then, with some confusion, and it is useful for any consideration of his poetry to examine how he has done this. It is significant that many of the chapter headings of *The Enormous Room* are taken from *The Pilgrim's Progress.* Several of the late poems are explicitly religious, but without these we may see many indications that he has consistently striven to be pious. In spite of himself he has remained a Puritan, though for him despair, his Valley of Despond, has been the hatred of the senses Puritanism approved and fostered. His own nature is passionate, and he has an almost Latin delicacy of feeling. For such a person the bareness of Puritanism is blasphemous. As fortune would have it, some of his intensity of feeling is guarded by the singleness of mind that provides one of the great strengths of Puritanism, so much so that he is led by that same virtue to become a missionary, to make beauty a cause. He is sometimes obliged, praising whatever is Spring-like, to worship defiantly.[4] Satisfying so great a need, he rebelled violently against the principles which opposed him. To do justice to the claims of the senses he turned to the world Brattle Street considered most debased, and he did this in a conscientious and Puritan way. His judgment, too, needed to be satisfied; as if troubled by conscience he wanted to know what debasement meant.

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[3] All this may be judged from the poems of his first three or four volumes, and in the selections from them printed in *Collected Poems* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938). The references in this paper, unless it is otherwise stated, are to the numbers of the poems in this edition.

[4] See, for example, Nos. 26, 73, and 157—"not for philosophy does this rose give a damn."

But it was also that he believed he would find excellence surviving among the humble, more even than in his own class. Perhaps he thought that dignity, among those who do not live according to bourgeois conventions, when it does survive will survive more freely and greatly.

A great many of his poems have been about the young girls and worn women of brothels.[5] Sometimes he finds them beautiful, but often they are hard and ugly. His criticism is rarely explicit, and he reserves his judgment too often, but the important thing is that he did not fall into an easy sentimentality. He did not make the mistake of saying that one way of life is as good as another, and yet it is clear that he accepted a wealth of experience that made integration more difficult and contributed greatly to his confusion. But this was a price he paid to some purpose, nor is it possible to say that it might have been otherwise. The fact is, by whatever luck or principle of life, Cummings has been able to preserve a quality which usually belongs to the innocent, the capacity for unaffected wonder.

His love poems, which show both his loyal intentness and his unhappy confusion, describe countless affairs, crude as well as fine.[6] Sometimes they are very beautiful, and at other times they are detached and hard. Sometimes they are merely obscene jokes. He told Puritanism off even while shocking himself, and this became a habit. It was right and necessary to tell his Puritan ancestors that the life of the senses is good, but it does the senses no favor to consider their restlessness their essential virtue. Their value consists really in their aptitude for constancy, in service that is rewarding to the whole individual, whereby the attachment of the senses is deeply and lastingly fixed.

His paganism, then, is corrupted with an idea, that the casual experience of the senses provides a sufficient truth for living. Falling in love, he is really serving this idea, and his experience of what is more deeply human is restricted. What lasts is not a human relationship but the idea of the charming restlessness of love. With such a belief one can afford to be only temporarily attached. It seems to me that such a person refuses to submit himself to the process of time, not wishing to bind himself loyally, nor to achieve his living as it were in a family, preferring to live in many important respects without responsibility.

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[5] See No. 122 (five poems).

[6] In many of the separate volumes the coarser poems are at the beginning, the finer at the end.

This is a common American trait, a way of refusing to be affected by experience, living with ideas instead of people. There is a certain reward in such a course; we preserve our hopefulness, which is admirable when it is not too naïve. But when the religious impulse that first made this attitude desirable, the Puritan dream of the solitary walk with God, is diffused, and what is left is devoted to maintaining the worth of confused emotions, the result is very often superficiality. For what is left is hardly more than mere sensation, which is transitory, and the commitments one makes through the years do not permit the constant, casual interruption of irresponsible attachment. The oaths of living are cut short by the limits of personal sensibility, and under such circumstances the resources of social belief are unavailable. Cummings has often been distracted through pursuing this error, although he has generally been able to establish a truer temper than that hysterical strain which confuses love with determinism. But the fact remains that much strength seems to have been wasted.

This has been a costly rebellion, then, and it might have been a ruinous one had it not been for some of the virtues Cummings inherited from Puritanism. He preserved the discipline of conscientiousness and self-observation and the sense of his own integrity. To these he brought a great capacity for sympathy and a rich nature and so, fortunately, achieved a kind of humility and the power of recognizing simplicity and innocence in others.

One might think this hardly an adequate accomplishment for a man whose age is now mature, for there is no such profundity in his conception of innocence and humility as we find in the old poem of the *Pearl.* But at its best his thought is healthy and charming, and not sentimental. His voice is not a full one, but it is very often clear and true. And in his last volume, published in 1941, his verse has taken on a new firmness, and he has lost some of the old tone of protestation as his piety has become more explicit.

II

In the very earliest poems, "Puella Mea" and "Epithalamion," Cummings began with the praise of love, with sensuous and fragrant language and a kind of delicacy that is like Catullus. Later he was to make epigrams in the manner of the Latin poet,[7] but here the stronger reminiscences are of Spenser and Keats, with here and there, curiously enough, a tone that seems to come from Milton. A single passage will show this, I think:

> (thee will i praise between those rivers whose
> white voices pass upon forgetting (fail
> me not) whose courseless waters are a gloat
> of silver; o'er whose night three willows wail,
> a slender dimness in the unshapeful hour
> making dear moan in tones of stroked flower;
> let not thy lust one threaded moment lose:
> haste) the very shadowy sheep float
> free upon terrific pastures pale.[8]

Only excerpts from these long poems are left in the collected edition, and it is easy to see why much has been discarded. They are love poems, catalogues of beauties, half real, half literary, written partly in love, partly in love with love, partly in love with poetry. And in what remains there is much that is clumsy, and sometimes the language is pitifully insecure. But they are left as a remainder of a genuine striving. The surer grace came in certain sonnets, where there is a kind of fragile charm, medieval or pre-Raphaelite, as you will:

> if i have made, my lady, intricate
> imperfect various things chiefly which wrong
> your eyes (frailer than most dreams are frail)
> songs less firm than your body's whitest song
> upon my mind—if i have failed to snare
> the glance too shy—if through my singing slips
> the very skillful strangeness of your smile
> the keen primeval silence of your hair
>
> —let the world say "his most wise music stole
> nothing from death"—
>   you only will create
> (who are so perfectly alive) my shame:
> lady through whose profound and fragile lips
> the sweet small clumsy feet of April came
>
> into the ragged meadow of my soul.[9]

[7] No. 215. [8] No. 1. [9] No. 189.

What is immediately striking here is the language of the images, more perhaps than the images themselves: the *threaded moment,* the *shadowy sheep,* eyes *frailer* than dreams. Something of this same love of language is in Spenser and Milton, where abstract words are treated like material ones, *the very skillful strangeness of your smile.* The method seems to be to use the abstraction to express the essential quality of a thing, and a sensuous or material epithet is attached in order to clinch the image referred to in such a way that all the associations implied in the abstraction are drawn on. When unsuccessful, such phrasing points to a kind of vagueness of language and perhaps feeling. But the failures only indicate the nature of the successes, which seem to prove that any beautiful particular depends upon something ineffable, something not exclusively comprehended in the image alone—*eyes frailer than most dreams are frail.*

But the language can be concrete, too, and with fine economy. The cathedral in Paris has an *upward lean magnificent face,*[10] and in one love poem there is the line, *nobody, not even the rain, has such small hands.*[11]

The order of phrasing in this first poem, "thee will i praise," asks to be known as the Latin way of ordering thought, *te laudabo,* and the strange abstract quality of the vocabulary fits in with that style and tone. But very often Cummings seems deliberately to be choosing the language of the simplest conversational English, as in such a stanza as this:

> a wind has blown the rain away and blown
> the sky away and all the leaves away,
> and the trees stand. I think i too have known
> autumn too long.[12]

Such richness of texture and such simplicity must have come about through the earlier cultivation of ancient and archaic styles. I think one of Cummings's first inclinations must have been to write in a convention, even while he was intent on forming an individual style. He must have taken forms from the past that were roughly adapted to the things he had to write about. He found these forms of course in the poets he admired, Spenser and Keats, the Spenserian stanza, the sonnet, the iambic rhythm. And in the beginning he found a language there he wanted, and a way of phrasing. However fresh the feelings he had to express seemed to him, he knew that it was impossible merely to take over the language of daily speech with no wider knowledge of its capacity than is to be gained in conversation. He has had an extraordinary gift of his own with which to extend our language, and it is understandable that at times he should have distorted language beyond recognition. But like Antaeus he knows the mother of his strength, and each new volume has witnessed a continuous return to the traditions of expression.

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[10] No. 67.

[11] See below, p. 382.

[12] No. 20.

A Protestant rebelling against Protestantism, he has a particular stake in asserting the value of his feeling, and he has the conjunct necessity to establish a language worthy of his rebellion. When he loses his meaning through phrasing which reflects the confusion of rebellious sensibility, he seems too arrogant to erase and start over. A lot more weeding should have been done, and yet the criticism is not for having written bad poems, but for having published them. For again and again he shows he could have made the selection. He knew that the language of profound meaning must be a choice of words from the language of civilized thought, and not merely the phrases of private incantation. He knew that only through the validity of past conventions of expression are people able to express the validity of their own thoughts and feelings. The language a poet writes in has a history. It is in knowing this and using this knowledge to explore accurately the extent and nature of his feeling that he is able to utilize the experience of humanity for the expression of his own thinking existence, which belongs also to humanity. In this way he is able to express not merely what has purely personal validity for him, but what can be perceived and understood by others. Such a task, I suppose, becomes the essential joy of poetry, accepting the responsibility of communication. There is an interesting statement Cummings once made that may be of help in such considerations as these: "The tragedy of life always hasn't been and isn't that some people are poor and others rich, some hungry and others not hungry, some weak and others strong. The tragedy is and always will be that most people are unable to express themselves."[13] The task for Cummings is the task of "most people," and he wants to talk simply, like a child, sometimes, or in the conversation of the street. For he turns from the Latin or the medieval style to the language of the Bowery on the next page. He is sure that the language of the streets is as sincerely conceived as that of Catullus. It is here that the discipline of his reading was to be of help, for writing about a girl from Barnum and Bailey's in the language of Catullus and Solomon and the Arabian Nights is a way of learning what is merely topical and what is not, a way to free oneself from the deceptive validity of slang. More than most other modern poets who have tried to write in the language of jazz and middle-class Americans Cummings has known what he was doing, and could present his slang poems for what they were and not for something else, not for "the last word." Most frequently such poems are in a minor key, or turn to jokes, but they become stripped of superficial uses when Cummings's feelings are involved deeply. At such times the language is again selected for its true vitality, and it becomes the language of literature.

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[13] *Eimi*, p. 251.

Buffalo Bill's
defunct
        who used to
        ride a watersmooth-silver
                                        stallion
and break onetwothreefourfive pigeons justlikethat
                                                                Jesus
he was a handsome man
                                and what i want to know is
how do you like your blueeyed boy
Mister Death[14]

The same discipline makes possible the success of a child's poem where there is, for example, such a line as "the world is puddle-wonderful."[15] His failures come most often when he relies on a strident exaggeration of language to express feelings that are unripe for expression, when he is confusedly intent. I think it can be said that his obscure poems are bad, and they are bad because he is in them affirming the values of his sensibility at the expense of his conviction. This is like the hope of most adolescent writers that personal feelings may be communicated with images whose connotations are not supported by the logic of the syntax. Such seems to me the mistake of these lines:

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[14] No. 31.

[15] No. 30.

> I have seen her a stealthily frail
> flower walking with its fellows in the death
> of light, against whose enormous curve of flesh
> exactly cubes of tiny fragrance try.[16]

I think the approximate meaning of this can be discovered, but I do not think there is the precision and clarity of conception that is necessary for a communicable poem. *Cubes of tiny fragrance* makes a kind of sense, for no doubt smell is three-dimensional, but such a conceit as this or *tiny fragrance* or *death of light* is so complex it needs to be clarified and its meaning referred to some more suggestive explanation if it is not to be barren in effect.[17]

But this is an error of degree, for there are times when ambiguity does not mean chaos, when miraculous effects are gained through some persuasion of half-felt perceptions to make us accept the impossible. Something like this must account for the charm of another poem:

> somewhere I have never travelled, gladly beyond
> any experience, your eyes have their silence:
> in your most frail gesture are things which enclose me,
> or which i cannot touch because they are too near
>
> your slightest look easily will unclose me
> though i have closed myself as fingers,
> you open always petal by petal myself as Spring opens
> (touching skilfully, mysteriously) her first rose
>
> or if your wish be to close me, i and
> my life will shut very beautifully, suddenly,
> as when the heart of this flower imagines
> the snow carefully everywhere descending;

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[16] No. 117.

[17] With reference to ambiguities such as these R. P. Blackmur (*The Double Agent*, New York, 1935, reprinting an essay that appeared first in 1930) developed the thesis that Cummings belongs to the cult of unintelligibility. But that thesis seems to me faulty since it rests only on the perception of Cummings's failures, and since it takes no account of his successes.

nothing which we are to perceive in this world equals
the power of your intense fragility: whose texture
compels me with the colour of its countries,
rendering death and forever with each breathing

(i do not know what it is about you that closes
and opens; only something in me understands
the voice of your eyes is deeper than all roses)
nobody, not even the rain, has such small hands[18]

The whole poem is made up of variations of one simile, and through such elaborations the context gives strength to the succession of images. And for what still might be inexplicable there is the disarming modesty, a kind of gentleness in his treatment of words that are called on to do so much.

There is still something else to be said, I think, about the insecurity of Cummings's language, and about his persistent crudeness next door to excellence. It has to do with the confusion of his beliefs, when he holds to the superstition that reality is comprehended solely in the reactions of the senses at the same time he is asserting the clarity and simple freshness that belong to the character of innocence. If a person, whose experience should have made him mature, writes immaturely, confusedly, and knows it, he is doing this—he is accepting a kind of confusion as the price of maintaining that his perceptions are partly right. They are partly clear, and their importance is so great that they demand and seem to deserve poetical expression even if they are obscured by other perceptions which are not clear and by experience which is not assimilated. But there is such health in them that occasionally they overcome the hindrance of an unripe art. Such a writer rarely attains the classical balance, whereby he writes naturally and easily exactly the right thing in its naturally right form; the co-ordination of his mind and heart will not be so clearly articulated. That he is resigned to. But rather than write nothing he keeps persistently to his original faith even while his experience is demanding fuller and wiser treatment. It might be supposed that the strength of such a poet should be husbanded better, but under those circumstances our writer might have become a critic rather than a poet. For ultimately, however the game was played, it was worth the candle, fine and wonderful poems have been created.

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[18] No. 225.

III

The punctuation Cummings employs often distracts and antagonizes readers, but at times it can be shown to serve a useful purpose.[19]

He observes the classical restrictions of line length in many sonnets, quatrains, longer stanzas, and couplets. But he also writes in loose forms, where a line may contain no more than a word or half-word. Such broken patterns are obviously designed to make use of the pause that everyone feels at the end of any line. If the line is only one syllable long, the pause is not great but it is there. A slower reading, then, is achieved:

the
sky
was
can dy lu
minous
edible
spry
pinks shy
lemons
greens coo l choc
olate
s.[20]

The relative relationship of the lines is surprising—

the
sky
was

—and the effect presumably aimed at is surprise, and suspense. Moreover, in this particular arrangement we are reminded that the relative pitch of each of these words is normally descending.

We return to the margin with *can dy,* and, as we expect, at taking up the beginning of any line, we are confronted with an important image and thought. Such an expectation is not always justified, in this or any poem, but we are at least prepared to take up the new line with a special accent. While there is no accent on the second syllable of *luminous* (and in this poem we do not feel obliged to supply one), we normally expect some special emphasis, and to satisfy this expectation we compensate ourselves by drawing out the *min* sound slightly. Cummings is trying to make us roll these sounds slowly over the tongue, since he is trying to make words express how colors are sometimes felt as tastes. The syllables separated by equal spaces, *can dy lu,* slow the reading for this same reason.

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[19] In *A Survey of Modernist Poetry* (London, 1927) Laura Riding and Robert Graves comment brilliantly on various features of Cummings's system of punctuation. Their discussion differs from that of the present essay, however, and partly because they are interested in various historical considerations.

[20] No. 99.

There then follow a succession of two groups of syllables pronounced more quickly:

minous
edible.

But at this point the facts of the poem are no longer those of observation but of sensation: first something was pointed out, a colored sky that looks like candy; this sight affected the poet as the swift entrance of light into his mind might, he is greedy for it, and devours it quickly.

Shy follows *pinks* directly because this indicates the close juxtaposition of the colors lemon and pink in the sky, two shy colors together, but perhaps not immediately touching. The repetition of the *y* sound in *spry* and *shy* is, I suppose, to provide the kind of finality that rhyme gives, and so prepare for the beginning of another line and the special emphasis that obtains as such.

Cool is between *greens* and *chocolates* because these colors represent equally cool sensations to the poet. The *l* is separated from *coo* to draw out the sound, and this seems to me a sensible arrangement because for many people the *l* sound *is* cool, and the slow rolling of it in the throat that is achieved by such division of the spelling sets up a physiological reaction that is comparable to what happens when a piece of ice is held in the mouth.

The final *s* of *chocolates* draws our attention to the importance of plurality. This is apparently worthy of special notice, as if indicating one chocolate after another completely savored.

So much, we may decide, the eye is to tell the tongue. The value of such directions we may judge by supplying another form for this language:

The sky was candy luminous, edible;
Spry pinks, shy lemons, greens, cool chocolates.

The tempo here, of course, is much faster, and the images, such as they are, are blurred.

I have deliberately chosen this not very good fragment of a poem to illustrate the nature of Cummings's punctuation; the conceits here are not effective, but the punctuation is generally intelligible. Cummings is apparently attempting to extend the ordinary scheme of punctuation to insure the reading and speaking of his poem as nearly as possible as he conceives it to be read best. In any poem there are ambiguities of rhythm and inflection that could be resolved by skillful punctuation, but it is also true that many good poems allow at least two quite different methods of reading and various emphases. The purpose of punctuation, I suppose, is rarely perfectly achieved. But there are two kinds of results, an approximate indication of the best way or ways to read a poem, and the preventing of certain unacceptably crude ways of reading. Bad punctuation can obscure or falsify the meaning of a poem, and good punctuation supports the meaning and rhythm and sound. The success of the punctuation of any poem, then, is to be judged by the worth of the poem, and if the punctuation is apparently elaborate and the meaning of the poem still obscure, I should think that the punctuation itself is not so much at fault, if it is at all intelligible, as is the poem.

This point can be supported somewhat by reference to what I think an excellent poem, and one in which punctuation is used exquisitely:

up into the silence the green
silence with a white earth in it

you will(kiss me)go

out into the morning the young
morning with a warm world in it

(kiss me)you will go

on into the sunlight the fine
sunlight with a firm day in it

you will go(kiss me

down into your memory and
memory and memory

i)kiss me(will go)[21]

In this poem no commas or periods are necessary; the ends of the lines supply the pauses except where there are parentheses, or if not a pause a hesitating inflection. In the third line the parentheses enclose words whose thought is subordinate to the thought of taking leave of someone, but a thought which asserts itself recurrently in the situation, as in the sixth and ninth lines. But at the end, as at a real parting, the undercurrent finds expression vocally, and the parting itself *(i will go)* is subordinate to the spoken farewell. The poem is to be read aloud, and such subtleties are perhaps more to guide the volume of sound than the inflection. But however it is to be read, such punctuation is at least a clue to the feeling of the poem.

At times, however, Cummings surely is messing up the typography through affectation and excess of ambition:

Among

            these
                  red pieces of
day(against which and
quite silently hills
made of blueandgreen paper

shorchbend ingthem
-selves-U
pcurv E, into:
                  anguish(clim
b)ing
s-p-i-r-a-
l
and, disappear)[22]

For example, if *up* is to be pronounced with a swoop, I would think the words should not be divided and that both letters should be capitalized. Nor can I think of any reason for capitalizing the final *e* of *curve.* I realize that from here on the poem is supposed to be labored and tormented in speaking to represent an intense feeling associated with rising up as from labor pains, but the meaning itself is indicated rather than expressed and the punctuation does not make up for the failure of language. *Spiral* is written as if we should spell it out, but if we do we are distracted from the sense and there is almost no significance then to the sounds. If the dashes merely indicate that we are to pronounce the word haltingly, this particular division seems to achieve that result no more effectively than a picture device, for example, where the letters might be arranged without dashes over five lines. As it is, the reader is confronted with an even greater ambiguity as to the proper means of pronunciation than if the word were put down in the ordinary way. Nor do I think the following example is anything more than curious:

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[21] *50 Poems* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1941), No. 41.

[22] No. 162.

;d
;;a:
nC.eda:Nci;ddaanncciinn

(GLY)[23]

This is an ingenious way of spelling *dance, danci, dancingly,* presumably to get a syncopated reading, but the meaning of the context is obscure, the reason for syncopation is not apparent to me unless for its own sake, and I think this is merely the way a spoiled child might show off.

These quotations represent the kind of punctuation that Cummings so persistently indulges in. At times his scheme certainly causes the reader to pay special attention to the sound of the words. But at other times it seems to provide a puzzle of such complexity that interest in the poem is lost for the sake of the puzzle. At times Cummings is merely thumbing his nose at convention and at the reader. Occasionally I think Cummings is making jokes, and I for one am amused, but then, some of these are threadbare jokes.[24]

When this unorthodox punctuation is good, it is excellent. When it is less than that it is of doubtful value, for I think that ambiguity in these matters indicates a lack of interest in the poem by the poet himself. The punctuation is worked out in terms of a word or phrase, or two or three phrases, and almost never is there a logic to it which supports the meaning of the whole poem. (The Buffalo Bill poem, as an exception, is a very short poem.) Very often those poems in which the punctuation is most complicated are poems which fall apart, which are without unity of meaning. And conversely, those poems which are sustained and unified are most simply punctuated. In general, I think, his unorthodox punctuation is most successful when it leaves out signs. It is most often unsuccessful when it elaborates on the conventional scheme by amplification.

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[23] No. 263.

[24] John Finch in his appreciative essay, "New England Prodigal" (*New England Quarterly,* XII, 643-653, Dec., 1939), points out that the humorous and satiric note in Cummings may relate to a kind of querulousness which was developed as Cummings failed to find a satisfactory social philosophy. Similarly, these jokes of punctuation might be said, I suppose, to be in protest against the social order. Finch does not carry his analysis far enough, I think, in this as in other respects, but so far as I know he is the first critic to make an effort to consider Cummings's work as a whole.

IV

However obscure Cummings's language may become at times and however absurd his typography, it is clear that he is an intelligent poet. He is not interested in intellectual subtleties as Eliot and MacLeish are, and on the other hand he does not belong to the cult of unintelligibility. Actually his intellectual position is respectable and rather coherently maintained. He is a Platonist, absorbed in the discipline of contemplation and devoted to the perception of being. Existence means more to him than action. The highest praise he can give to people is to say they are; the Zulu Is. That which is alive in the truth, and is capable of growth and fulfillment, Is. Other creatures may exist somehow; they act, but they act meaninglessly, out of no central peace and with no valid plan for their own enrichment in generosity and kindness and affection. They have no talent for developing the decent approval of what is peculiarly human, tenderness and sadness. Every negative prefix, every qualifying adjective and adverb Cummings can find is used to describe these living dead; they are the unmen, unthinking, unfeeling, ungod; they are made of perhaps and almost and if. The truly living are simple and brave and generous, and more:

> We of whom Is partakes, only to whom our deaths are births—savagely makers beneath docile time (and beyond conquerable space travellers) who are not contained or comprised, who cannot fail in wonder—possible we conceive dreaming and impossibly freedom: opening and mind's agony of first joy—stern we, the hugely forever-pitying genitals of spirit.[25]

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[25] *Eimi*, p. 187.

Lately an explicit piety has come into his poems.

> King Christ, this world is all aleak;
> and lifepreservers there are none:
> and waves which only He may walk
> Who dares to call Himself a man.[26]

> then let men kill which cannot share,
> let blood and flesh be mud and mire,
> scheming imagine, passion willed,
> freedom a drug that's bought and sold
>
> giving to steal and cruel kind,
> a heart to fear, to doubt a mind,
> to differ a disease of same,
> conform the pinnacle of am
>
> though dull were all we taste as bright,
> bitter all utterly things sweet,
> maggoty minus and dumb death
> all we inherit, all bequeath
>
> and nothing quite so least as truth
> —i say though hate were why men breathe—
> because my father lived his soul
> love is the whole and more than all.[27]

In these poems I find a firmness and strength which is new to Cummings. All along he has maintained his knowledge of the invaluable worth of the individual (in a journal he kept in Russia there is an aside, "Imagine a socialist clown!"[28]), and some of his limitations of belief have hindered him from social comment. But now I think he more clearly understands the nature of the rebellion he has been waging; it is clearer to him, and his experience can be put to wiser use. As in the poem on his father, of which I have quoted only a part, a surer moral criticism replaces what was once hardly more than a glaze of sophistication. What were once merely jibes at commercialism are now more searching condemnations. His imagery and his thought are more frequently informed with Christian doctrine. I do not believe Cummings yet has a fully reasoned philosophy, but it is evident that he is now able to express more serious convictions by virtue of greater sympathy with Christianity. The judgments in the recent poems are not perhaps profound, but they are never foolish. They are responsible judgments. He is now more sure that he belongs to the world of all of us. This, I think, is growth, and provides a means whereby Cummings may now avoid errors he once made, and develop more fully what was originally sound in his perceptions. As from the beginning he has given us things of immeasurable worth, so I think he will continue to increasingly.

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[26] No. 258. See also Nos. 272, 282, and 293.

[27] *50 Poems*, No. 34.

[28] *Eimi*, p. 170.

He should not be allowed to fall from sight, or to be remembered only as one of the wild experimenters who came along after the last war. For he represents even now, in a more terrible war, something that is valid and sweet in the human spirit, and something profound and strong—in short, beauty. His piety, too, is nothing easily come by, and is free from the cant we have to slough off from so much current expression that is seeking some refuge from the stress of the present. And there is a service I hope someone will do him and ourselves, to provide a volume of his poems where what is cheap and tawdry is absent, a selection which will show that what is good is splendid.

THE HUMOROUS WORKS OF GEORGE W. HARRIS

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CRITICS have noticed that *Sut Lovingood's Yarns* (1867) by George W. Harris (1814-1869) is typical in many ways of the humor of the ante-bellum Southwest.[1] Yet Mr. Franklin J. Meine, comparing Harris's work with that of the other humorists, has stated that it is "strikingly different."[2] The purpose of this paper is to see how Harris resembles other humorists of the time and how he differs from them.[3] The study therefore may be enlightening as a detailed consideration of the claim that "in *Sut Lovingood* the ante-bellum humor of the South reaches its highest level of achievement before Mark Twain."[4]

I

Harris's life was that of a typical humorist of the section and of the period. Such a humorist was a man of varied backgrounds and experiences, having some acquaintance with books but usually more with the life that inspired the boisterous humor of the Old Southwest. Like the rest, Harris was more indebted to experience than to books for his materials.

Born in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania (now a part of Pittsburgh), on March 20, 1814, Harris was taken to Knoxville, Tennessee, when he was still a youngster.[5] Knoxville, where he lived most of his days, was to some extent shut off until the 1850's from the bustle and stir of westward expansion by the Cumberland and Smoky Ranges. Yet the confluence of the Holston and French Broad rivers into the Tennessee furnished not only a connection with the outside world but also the essential conditions of a "river" community. At the same time the mountains, particularly the Great Smokies, offered a magnificently contrasting way of living. Harris, therefore, had ample opportunities for "seeing humanity in all its varieties," as he states in an early sketch.[6]

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[1] George W. Harris, *Sut Lovingood's Yarns* (New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1867). Hereinafter this work will be designated as the *Yarns*. See Walter Blair, *Native American Humor (1800-1900)* (New York: American Book Company, 1937), pp. 62-101; Franklin J. Meine, *Tall Tales of the Southwest* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930), pp. xv-xxxii. The region designated as the Southwest includes Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

[2] Meine, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

[3] The scope of this study does not include Harris's political satires, which have not as yet been collected in book form. It does not include *Sut Lovingood Travels with Old Abe Lincoln*, ed. Edd W. Parks (Chicago, 1937).

[4] Blair, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[5] Information furnished by Mrs. Amanda Pillow Harris Raymond, daughter of George W. Harris, hereinafter designated as Mrs. Raymond.

Harris's schooling was meager, probably not exceeding eighteen months, but he learned to be a careful workman in metals by serving an apprenticeship in the jewelry shop of his half-brother, Samuel Bell.[7] When he came of age he worked three years as captain of a steamboat plying the Tennessee and Holston rivers;[8] farmed for an equal period in the foothills of the Smokies;[9] and then established a metal-working shop in Knoxville which he operated for seven years, making and repairing anything from the smallest screw to a steam engine.[10] During the 1850's he established and managed a glass works,[11] again captained a steamboat,[12] established a sawmill,[13] surveyed and managed the Ducktown (Hiwasse) copper mines,[14] served as postmaster at Knoxville,[15] became an important political figure in the state,[16] and in the late years of the decade turned to railroading, which held him until the outbreak of the war.[17] After the war he again took up railroading, rising to a position as superintendent of construction for the Wills Valley Railroad.[18]

This background and experience certainly qualified Harris with enough knowledge of the life of the section to follow the literary manifesto of this "boisterous band of humorists" as set forth by

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[6] New York *Spirit of the Times*, June 17, 1843. Hereinafter this publication will be designated as the *Spirit*.

[7] George F. Mellen, "Samuel Bell," Knoxville *Sentinel*, Oct. 12, 1916.

[8] George F. Mellen, "George W. Harris," Knoxville *Sentinel*, Feb. 13, 1909.

[9] Records of Blount County, Maryville, Tenn., for the years 1839-1842.

[10] Knoxville *Argus and Commercial Herald*, Feb. 1, 1843; Knoxville *Register*, June 26, 1846.

[11] *Spirit*, May 26, 1849; Knoxville *Register*, Sept. 29, 1849.

[12] Knoxville *American Statesman*, Feb. 10, 1854.

[13] Knoxville *Standard*, Aug. 30, 1858.

[14] Information furnished by Mrs. Raymond.

[15] Letter from 1st Assistant Postmaster General to J. Cleveland Harris, April 19, 1928.

[16] Nashville *Union and American*, March 17, 1859 ff.

[17] *Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1859. Corroborated by Mrs. Raymond.

[18] Letter from Ben T. Brock to J. Cleveland Harris, dated June 15, 1928.

Augustus B. Longstreet in these words: ". . . the aim of the author was to supply . . . the manners, customs, amusements, wit, dialect, as they appear in all grades of society to an ear and eye witness to them."[19] Throughout life Harris followed the dictum laid down by Longstreet: he had the same interest in showing the life of his region. Typifying his attitude is a statement found in a sketch published in 1843: "I mounted my nag and started for the Knob, having seen some odd specimens of humanity; though such specimens are to be met with frequently in this mountain region."[20] Earlier in the sketch he describes some of the "odd specimens," together with the "manners, customs, amusements, wit, and dialect" of the region.

When Harris wrote his first full-length yarn, "The Knob Dance,"[21] he took material of the same sort from his experience, organized it, and put it into the mouth of a narrator, Dick Harlan. He also turned to his experience for vivid metaphors which he was to use so effectively in his later writings. His "A Snake-bit Irishman"[22] relates an incident which supposedly happened while he was on a hunt in the mountains of Morgan County with a party from Knoxville. The days of his youth, when he "was sent into the upper counties" of Tennessee on "a trip of business," furnished the background and setting for "A Sleep Walking Incident."[23] "There's Danger in Old Chairs"[24] records "a most amusing incident" which happened "not long since at one of the first class hotels, in a western city." Certainly by 1854, when "Sut Lovingood's Daddy 'Acting Horse' " first bodies Sut forth, Harris had encountered most of the material which went into his yarns.

II

Longstreet, in spite of his dictum, depended to a great extent on the Addison-Goldsmith-Irving tradition for his literary form. In this he was followed by other humorists of the South, particularly by Joseph G. Baldwin in *The Flush Times of Alabama and*

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[19] O. P. Fitzgerald, *Judge Longstreet: A Life Sketch* (Nashville: Methodist Publishing Co., 1891), p. 164. In a sketch written in 1848 Harris states that what follows "would take the pen of a Longstreet to describe" (*Spirit,* July 29, 1848). Whether he was familiar with *Georgia Scenes* during his early writing days is not known.

[20] *Spirit,* April 15, 1843.

[21] *Ibid.,* Aug. 2, 1845.

[22] *Ibid.,* Jan. 17, 1846.

[23] *Ibid.,* Sept. 12, 1846.

[24] *Weekly Nashville Union,* Oct. 6, 1847.

Mississippi, and to some extent by Harris. In "How to Marry," published in the *Spirit* in 1854, Harris wrote a sketch which might have been hatched under the wing of N. P. Willis.[25]

Although he did not have much formal education Harris evidently read a considerable number of books. When farming at the age of twenty-five he possessed at least seventy-five books in addition to a Bible.[26] He was treasurer of a literary society in Knoxville whose library was said to already contain "many Standard works" and was "constantly receiving valuable acquisitions." Mrs. Raymond stated that her father was quite fond of reading and spent a great deal of time with books.

In "How to Marry" there are several allusions to the Bible; the Queen of Sheba is used for a comparison in "A Snake-bit Irishman"; Sut invokes Joseph as the "foredaddy" of the Lovingoods in "Sut Lovingood at Sicily Burns's Wedding";[27] Harris states in a note to Porter [editor of the *Spirit*] that "it is the general impression hereabouts that your 'Spirit' has played the Dickens with 'Boz.'"[28] He took the central idea in "Old Skissim's Middle Boy"[29] from *The Pickwick Papers,* as Sut admits in these words: "Charley Dickins's son, the fat boy, mout been es ni kin tu him es a secund cuzzin, ef his mam wer a pow'ful wakeful 'oman." In addition, Harris mentions Byron,[30] Burns,[31] Elizabeth Barrett,[32] and Longfellow.[33] There are also allusions to Mahomet's coffin[34] and to "Alborax."[35]

It must not be inferred, however, that Harris was vitally affected by literary influences. Probably his reference to Longfellow may be taken as a guide. Sut is singing a folk-song when George (Harris) asks him to stop the noise. Sut replies:

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[25] There is evidence that he wrote a number of such sketches. Another sketch which is probably his appeared in the *Spirit* for October 28, 1854, under the title of "How They Do Things in Tennessee."

[26] Book "Q," p. 155, Records of Blount County, Maryville, Tenn., Dec. 23, 1840, records an indenture which includes "seventy-five books and a Bible" in a list of Harris's personal property.

[27] Nashville *Union and American,* April 15, 1858.

[28] *Spirit,* April 15, 1843.

[29] *Yarns.* p. 67.

[30] *Spirit,* June 24, 1848.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Knoxville *Press and Messenger,* Sept. 29, 1869.

[33] *Yarns,* p. 124.

[34] Chattanooga *Daily American Union,* Nov. 27, 1867.

[35] Nashville *Union and American,* Aug. 10, 1866.

> Well, I be durn'd! Calls superfine singin ove a hart-breakin luv song, what's purtier by a gallun an' a 'alf than that cussed fool thing *yu* wer a-readin, jis' arter supper 'bout the youf what toted a flag up a mountin by hissef ove a nite, wif 'Exelcider' writ ontu hit. . . .[36]

After more arguments Sut attempts to prove his song is a love song, then adds this illuminating criticism on Longfellow:

> Now yu's a cussin at my luv song, I wants tu say a word about that 'Excelcider' youf ove your'n, what sum Longfeller writ. I say, an' I'll swar tu hit, that eny feller, I don't keer hu the devil he is, what starts up a mountin, kiver'd wif snow an' ise, arter sundown, wif nuffin but a flag, an' no whisky, arter a purty gal hed offer'd her bussum fur a pillar, in a rume wif a big hath, kiver'd wif hot coals, an' vittils . . . am a dod durn'd, complikated, full-blooded, plum nat'ral born durn'd fool; he warn't smart enuf tu fine his mouf wifout a leadin string; he orter froze es stiff es a crow-bar, an' then been thaw'd out by the devil; dod durn him.

This passage shows Sut's and his creator's preference for the stuff of life rather than that of romance. And it is not surprising that other models of form than those supplied by Longfellow's poetic creations were followed by Harris in his humorous narratives.

Far more powerful in the development of Harris as a humorist was the influence of the oral tale. And since oral storytelling "had an important influence upon the matter of most Western tales and upon the manner of many of them,"[37] his literary kinship with the humorists of his time and his section is best suggested by this fact.

The spinning of a tale became an art, and the material for these tales was inexhaustible. Eventually, most of them found their way into newspapers, popular periodicals, and books. The most popular humorous journal of the period was William T. Porter's New York *Spirit of the Times,* and in almost every case the better humorous stories sooner or later appeared in its columns. Harris gives evidence of this when he asks in the introduction to "The Knob Dance" if "your [Porter's Mississippi friend "In the Swamp"] . . . was at 'ar-a-frolick' while in East Tennessee?" He then promptly answers his own question by saying, "I reckon not or you would have hearn of it before now in the 'Spirit of the Times.' "

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[36] *Yarns,* pp. 123-124.

[37] Blair, *op. cit.,* pp. 70 ff.

Thus, it was quite natural that Harris began writing humorous sketches for the *Spirit* and learned much of his technique from writers for its columns.

Harris's wide experience and interests must have constantly thrown him into contact with oral tales. His "ragged, thoughtless boyhood," untrammeled by schools, kept him among people. His earliest writings were reports of gatherings and experiences where stories were likely to have been encountered. His nostalgic remembrances of later days include "the old stone Court-house," quarter races, camp meetings, quiltings, cornshuckings, frolics—all gatherings where the telling of stories constituted one of the chief means of entertainment.

Harris loved a good story well told, and, according to the evidence, he was a good storyteller himself. When the "Patlander" in "A Snake-bit Irishman" tells long dry yarns, all having a more or less remote bearing on his own prowess, he is guilty of a definite violation of frontier etiquette and hence is suitably and properly punished.[38] A correspondent of the *Spirit* gives evidence that a "story is very good, particularly when you hear it told by S——l [Harris's pen name]."[39]

The development of Harris's technique shows definitely his dependence upon the oral tale. His earliest known humorous writings appear in the *Spirit* over the pseudonym of "Mr. Free" as "Sporting Epistles."[40] This form of writing, appearing in almost every issue of the *Spirit,* usually catalogues happenings in various sections of the country and almost invariably includes a transcribed version of an oral tale. Following this form in his writings, Harris gradually reduces the epistolary part and increases the importance of the transcribed oral tale, finally developing a framework or "box-like structure" which takes the place of the epistolary part and becomes, in general, an introduction and a conclusion. This permits him to emphasize the incongruities between the telling of the tale and the fantastic world into which the tale moves.

Other writers of pieces for the *Spirit* mastered the technique, and one at least (T. B. Thorpe in "The Big Bear of Arkansas") is as artful in creating a framework and its contrasting fantastic world. But Harris does more in his *Sut Lovingood Yarns.* An obvious advantage comes from the use of Sut as the narrator and George (Harris) as his "stooge" in a series of sketches. This eliminates the characterization of a new narrator each time and progressively rounds out both Sut and George as characters, thereby moving the reader into the world of fantasy with the maximum of belief (or perhaps suspension of disbelief).[41]

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[38] *Spirit,* Jan. 17, 1846. This version of the yarn must not be confused with the one appearing later in the *Yarns.*

[39] *Spirit,* Jan. 17, 1847.

[40] *Spirit,* Feb. 11, 1843; April 15, 1843; June 17, 1843; and Sept. 2, 1843.

A generalized statement of technique, however, will not explain Mr. Meine's conclusion that Harris is "strikingly different." Nor will it explain this statement by F. O. Matthiessen:

> He [Harris] brings us closer than any other writer to the indigenous and undiluted resources of the American language, . . . Harris possesses on the comic level something of what Melville does on the tragic, the rare kind of dramatic imagination that can get movement directly into words.[42]

The explanation of this well-deserved praise can only come from an analysis of Harris's writings which will bring to the surface characteristics that are uniquely his. For convenience the analysis will be made under the conventional headings of character, setting, action or situation, and language. Harris's satirical comments on the foibles of humanity, mixed into his stories like "two pints of bald-face in a quart flask on a hard trotting hoss," will be considered in a separate section.

III

Characters appear in Harris's yarns on two levels: first, those who are in the framework; and, secondly, those who are in the yarn told by Sut. The connection between the two groups is maintained by Sut; George (Harris) never enters the world of fantasy as a character (except in "Eaves-dropping a Lodge of Free Masons").

The framework characters help Sut get the yarn under way, relieve the monotony of the monologue, underline the incongruity, and then help bring the setting back from the world of fantasy to the world of realism. George, in particular, helps make this "queer looking, long-legged, short-bodied, small-headed, white-haired, hog-eyed, funny sort of a genius," appropriate for the strange tales he is going to relate. Here is how George qualifies Sut to tell his famous shirt story:

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[41] Of course other humorists in the region used a continuing comic character as, for example, Johnson J. Hooper's Simon Suggs. He, however, does not use the "framework" technique.

[42] *American Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. xiii.

> "Why, Sut, what's wrong now? You look sick."
>
> "Heaps wrong, durn my skin—no my haslets—ef I hain't mos' ded, an' my looks don't lie when they hints that I'se sick. I is sick—I'se skin'd."
>
> "Who skinned you—old Bullen?"
>
> "No, hoss, a durnder fool nor Bullen did hit; I jis skin'd myself."
>
> "What in the name of common sense did you do it for?"
>
> "Didn't du hit in the name ove common sense; did hit in the name, an' wif the sperit ove plum natral born durn fool."[43]

When the yarn is under way Sut operates in situations on three levels, each of which demands a different type of character: first, in situations dealing with his Dad's world of "fooldom" (from which Sut stems) in which Sut helps his Dad to merited punishment; secondly, situations in which Sut gets out of his "nat'ral born fool" occupation and thereby comes to grief; and, third, situations in which "Sut's nat'ral born durn'd fool" endowments are pitted against supposedly respectable and intelligent members of society who are in reality hypocrites and whose intelligence cannot save them from his devastating punishment.

"Sut Lovingood's Daddy 'Acting Horse,'" as it appeared in the *Spirit,* November 4, 1854, the first of the Sut yarns, deals with Dad's world of "fooldom" and gives to Sut the following significant kinship:

> Well, thar we was—Dad an' me (counting on his fingers)—Dad, and me, and Sall, an' Jake (Fool Jake we called him fur short), an' Jonass, an' Phineass, and me, and Callime Jane, and Sharlotteean, an' Simeon Saul, an' Cashus Henry Clay, an' Noah Dan Webster, an' me, and the twin gals, an' Cathrine the Second, and Cleopatry Antony, an' Jane Lind, and Tom Bullion, an' the baby, an' the prospect, an' mam herself. . . .

Obviously, this kinship, presided over by Dad, the "king fool" of them all, is tremendously important in the characterization of Sut. Significantly, Harris places this sketch first in the *Yarns* and then ends the book with another story of the same sort, "Dad's Dog School," in which Sut insists that it

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[43] *Yarns,* p. 29.

> happen'd ur ruther tuck place apupus, in our famerly; hit cudn't a-been did by eny urther peopil on this yeath but us, fur hit am plum clarified dam fool, frum aind tu aind. Dad plan'd hit; an' him, an' mam, an' Sall, an' Bent, an' me—oh, yas! an' the pup.[44]

Sut describes his first effort to leave his proper sphere in "Sut's New-Fangled Shirt."[45] He errs by following the advice of Betts Carr, who is "the cussedes' oman" he ever saw "fur jaw, breedin, an' pride." She persuades Sut to put on a "pasted" shirt and in getting out of it, after he has perspired and the shirt has dried, Sut loses a goodly portion of his skin. He swears "never again," but in "Blown up with Soda"[46] George says:

> Sut's hide is healed—the wounds received in his sudden separation from his new shirt have ceased to pain, and, true to his instincts, or rather "a famerly dispersition," as he calls it, he "pitches in," and gets awfully blown up by a wild mountain girl.

Obviously, the supporting characters in the first two types of yarns are those suitable for bringing about a merited punishment for Sut's Dad or for Sut. In the third type the chief character (always a hypocrite) is to be punished and is given characteristics which merit that punishment. These characters are usually introduced by Sut in thumbnail descriptions such as that in which Parson Bullen is designated a "durnd infunel, hiperkritikal, pot-bellied, scaley-hided, whisky-wastin, stinkin ole groun'-hog" who preaches like this:

> He tole 'em how the ole Hell-sarpints wud sarve em if they didn't repent; how cold they'd crawl over thar nakid bodys, an' how like ontu pitch they'd stick tu 'em es they crawled; how they'd rap thar tails roun' thar naiks chokin clost, poke thar tungs up thar noses, an' hiss intu thar years. This wer the way they wer tu sarve the men folks. Then he turned ontu the wimmen: tole 'em how they'd quile intu thar buzzims, an' how they *wud* crawl down onder thar frock-strings, no odds how tite they tied 'em, an' how sum ove the oldes' an' wus ones wud crawl up thar laigs, an' travil *onder* thar garters, no odds how tight they tied 'em, an' when the two armys ove Hell-sarpints met, then. . . .[47]

Mrs. Yardley is put "ahine a par ove *shiney* specks," and Sut warns that such a woman "am dang'rus in the extreme" because she is

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[44] *Yarns*, p. 277.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

"a great noticer ove littil things, that nobody else ever seed" such as "that yaller slut ove a hen, a-flinging straw over her shoulder" of which she promises:

> I'll disapint *her* see ef I don't; I'll put a punkin in her nes', an' a feather in her nose. . . . An' sakes alive, jis' look at that ole sow; she's a-gwine in a fas' trot, wif her emty bag a-floppin agin her sides. . . . what a long yearnis grunt she gin; hit cum from way back ove her kidneys. . . . sich kerryin on means no good.[48]

As a usual thing Sut works alone in his punitive endeavors. However, at times, he has assistants. Bake Boyd is a good helper because "thar wur durn'd little weevil in his wheat, mity small chance ove warter in his whisky, and not a drap ove streakid blood in his veins." But it is Wirt Staples, directly out of the rip-roaring frontier tradition, who is the best. Wirt brags:

> I's jis' a mossel ove the bes' man what ever laid a shadder ontu this dirt. Hit wilts grass, my breff pizens skeeters, my yell breaks winders, an' my tromp gits yeathquakes. . . . An *I kin spit a blister ontu a washpot ontil the flies blow hit.*[49]

And Wirt is just about that good. Sut says that if the state fair will begin to give prizes for men, as it does for jackasses, he will enter Wirt and win the prize every time.

In Sut's fantastic world animals assume human characteristics. Squire Haney's horse

> wer ove a pius turn ove mine, ur ole Haney wudn't a keep him a day. Nobody ever see him kick, gallop, jump a fence, smell uther hosses, ur chaw a bridil. He wer never hearn squeal, belch, ur make eny onsightly soun.[50]

Ole Mill's bull, with "fat, an' stumpy, an' cross-grained Old Burns" clutching tight to his back and with his teeth clamped onto his tail, reasons like this:

> Ole Mills [the bull] dident begin tu onderstan' what wer atop ove 'im; hit were sumthing sartin what hed bof claws an' teeth, an'—*painter,* flash'd ontu his mine wif all the force the bill holt ontu his tail cud give hit. Dredful, dredful, tho't! His pluck wilted, an' he jis' turn'd tail tu the battil groun, an' went aimin fur North Caliney. . . .[51]

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[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

These few examples give a hint as to the dazzling array of characters found in Harris's yarns. As has been shown, they operate in two worlds, one quiet and peaceful and the other teeming with action. Certainly, Harris faces a difficult problem in making the peaceful setting of the framework blend with one for his fantastic world so that his stories will not bog down in descriptions. He does this with such consummate artistry that his settings hardly seem to exist.

The necessary accompaniments for Sut's telling a story consist of a flask well filled with whiskey, a place to lie flat in the shade, or a log to sit on. The framework setting, then, may be "among a crowd of mountaineers" at "Pat Nash's grocery" or "beside a cool spring." Often the story is told to a group gathered around a campfire or while George is waiting for his "fool chain kerriers."

The setting for Sut's oral tale is seldom more complicated. Harris's criterion seems to have been to keep the setting down to an absolute minimum. With his uncanny facility for noting details, he could have described elaborate and minute settings, and in some of his stories (particularly "Bill Ainsworth's Quarter Race") he does so. He seems to have operated on a formula: the more fantastic the tale, the simpler the setting. For example, here is the setting for "Mrs. Yardley's Quilting":

> The morning cum, still, saft, sunshiney; cocks crowin, hens singin, birds chirpin, tuckeys gobblin—jis' the day tu sun quilts, kick, kiss, squeal, an' make love.
>
> All the plow-lines, an' clothes-lines war straiched tu every post an' tree. Quilts purvailed. Durn my gizzard ef two acres roun that ar house warn't jis' one solid quilt, all a-sunnin, an' tu be seed. They dazzled the eyes, skeered the hosses, gin wimin the heart-burn, an perdominated. . . .[52]

Note how little of this passage is actual setting and how much of it performs other functions. It is particularly important to note that these quilts are to be combined later with action to create a situation around which the story is built. Sut, operating behind them as a screen, prepares for a general "momoxing" of things by fixing a horse so he can break loose, then he

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[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

> tore off a palin frum the fence, an' tuck hit in bof hans, an' arter raisin hit 'way up yander. . . . fotch hit down. . . . an' hit acksidentally happen'd tu hit Wall-eye, 'bout nine inches ahead ove the root of his tail.[53]

The resulting situation must be read about to be appreciated.

In other cases Sut uses situation merely for the humor which emerges from its incongruities. Old Burns, after an "onspeakabl bull ride," is thrown by the bull, his saddle gets caught on a limb, and Old Burns's feet, still in the stirrups, suspend him in midair so that

> he foun his sef hung up by the heels like onter a ded hog, an two bulls a fitin round im, his voice wer changed mitely, fur his guts (and he hed a few ove em) bore down towards his hed, and hit sounded like he wur down in a well, ur hed a locust in his throat. He bemoaned his condishun powful, cussed . . . an talked orfull about shot guns, clubs, grave yards, and the brimstone works onder the kere ove the devil. I tell yu hit were tremenjus, cumin frum a man ove family hung up by the heels tu a tree, whar two dredful ole bulls wer at war. Wun got a running go onter tuther an backed him again Ole Burns at the rate ove pidgin flying, an toted the ole feller way out tu wun side, es fur as the ropes let em; an tu make it wus, he'd grabbed a deth holt onto a tail, and hilt es long es he cud stan hit fur his ankils. Then he let go and swung—tick, tick, like ontu a durnd ole clock what wur behine time an tryin tu ketch up. . . .[54]

These examples indicate quite clearly that it is situation, rather than setting, which enlivens Suts world of fantasy.

With a representative picture of character, setting, and situation, both in the framework and in Sut's world, in mind, the reader can see what an enormous responsibility and load language must carry, if these are adequately translated to the reader. In addition, his language must make up for gestures and vocal intonation with which the oral tale was enlivened.

Harris is a master of vivid metaphors. Lizzards running up Old Bullen's legs make a noise "like squirrels a-climbing a shell-bark hickory"; Sut's mam gets hostile and soaks "hickory ile intu" his back "ontil hit" greases his "shut buzzum"; and cursing runs out of an old Dutchman "in a solid sluice as thick es a hoe handil." The metaphors are reinforced by a vigorous use of verbs. When mam tangles with Mis' Simmons, they "fit, an' they fout, they scratch'd, an' they claw'd, they grab'd, and they snatch'd, they knock'd, an' they hit, they grunted, an' they groaned. . . ."

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[53] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[54] Nashville *Union and American*, April 22, 1858.

As important as the vivid metaphors is the painstaking use of detail. When Sut describes a situation, he makes the whole come to life by a few details. See how this very complex situation unfolds its tremendous activity in a few words:

> A monstrous cloud ove dust, like a harykane hed cum along, hid all the hosses; an away abuv hit yu cud see hosses tails an ends ove fence rales a flyin about, an now and then a par ove brite hind shoes wud flash in the sun like two sparks, an away a head wur the baskit [in Old Burns's hand on top of a run-away bull], circklin roun' an about at random. A heap of brayin, sum nickerin, the bellerin ove the bull, clatterin ove runnin hoofs, an a monstrous rushin soun made up the nize.[55]

Sut also uses details to bring out more subtle points. When he wants to picture his unrest in the presence of Sicily Burns he says:

> My toes felt like I wer in a warm krick wif minners a-nibblin at em; a cole streak wer a racin up an' down my back like a lizzard wif a tucky hen arter 'im; my hans tuck the ager, an' my hart felt hot an onsatisfied like. . . .[56]

Thus language is used by Harris to fuse the other elements into a whole and bring them to life, and is itself made exactly appropriate to the character or situation, whether it be in the framework or in Sut's world of fantasy. Harris literally seems to breathe life and gestures and intonations and experience into cold words so that they blend with character and situation—so that they become men in action. But he is not content to stop there. After his matter is deftly spun into yarn, then wound into a ball of the correct size (or as Sut says, "I ain't like ole Glabbergab; when I'se spoke off what I knows, I stops talking"), he then sews it into a more compact and durable sphere by his satires on the foibles of mankind.

IV

In his earlier writings Harris is content to amuse. The gauge for "The Knob Dance" is "fun" which is appropriate to "a regular bilt frolick in the Nobs of 'Old Knox.'" Although amusement continues to be the primary purpose in his yarns, beginning with "Sut Lovengood's Daddy 'Acting Horse,'" he adds lusty licks at the foibles of mankind. In order to do this without freighting his stories with moral preachment, he gives to Sut's reasoning processes this characteristic:

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[55] Nashville *Union and American*, April 16, 1858.

[56] *Yarns*, p. 80.

> Well, I thinks peopil's brains what hev souls, am like ontu a chain made outen gristil, forkid at wun aind; wun fork goes tu the eyes, an' tuther tu the years, an' tuther aind am welded tu the marrer in the backbone, an' hit works sorter so. Thar stans a hoss. Well, the eyes ketches his shape, jis' a shape, an' gins that idear tu the fust link ove the chain. He nickers, an' the years gins that tu tother fork ove the chain, a soun, nuffin but a soun. Well, the two ruff idears start along the chain, an' every link is smarter nur the wun ahine hit, an' dergests em sorter like a paunch dus co'n, ur mash'd feed, an' by the time they gits tu the back-bone, hit am a hoss an' yu *knows* hit. Now, in my case, there's a hook in the chain, an hits mos' ove the time onhook'd, an' then my idears stop thar half made. Rite thar's whar dad failed in his 'speriments; puttin in that durn'd fool hook's what made me a natral born fool. The breed wer bad to, on dad's side; they all run tu durn'd fools an' laigs powerful strong.[57]

This is not a very abstruse explanation for a psychologist, but is a highly appropriate way to have Sut characterize himself. With this random kind of "hooking" provided for, Harris can "hook" that chain in Sut only when it makes the satire of a desired sort possible. Furthermore, it provides for a strange or unusual moral kind of "hooking." A "morril an' sensibil way" of running a quilting for Sut—one that is "good fur free drinking, good fur free eating, good fur free hugging, good fur free dancing, good fur free fiting, an' goodest uv all fur poperlating a country fas'"—differs from the ideas of "the ole mammys."

Whiskey plays an important part in Sut's world. This "barlm of life" is a sort of gateway, an approach, to the good things in life and it is itself the best thing in life: it is not to be enjoyed by those who damn other amusements. With this as a criterion for hypocrisy, the "Hardshell" in "Bart Davis's Dance" who lets his "shovel-shaped onder lip" drop outward "like ontu the fallin door ove a stone coal stove" and upsets a gourd of whiskey "inside ove his teef" so that the liquid goes down his throat "like a snake travelin thru a wet sassige gut," is welcome. But when he puritanically tries to interfere with the "innercent mucement" of dancing which follows, he is appropriately punished.[58] This indicates Harris's chief hatred: hypocrites.

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[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

His satires, made effective by Sut's punishment, fall on many classes: women, circuit riders, lawyers, sheriffs, dandies, politicians, temperance workers, tavern "perpryiters," professors, pedigree hunters, and many other odious specimens of humanity. But it is at women and circuit riders—two groups which he particularly feels should not be hypocrites—that he aims his most frequent and best directed satires. A few examples of satires at these two groups will indicate his method.

Deceitful women are satirized in the person of Sicily Burns.[59] Delicacy is not the proper attribute of a woman, for as Sut snorts: "There never was a durnder humbug on earth than it is, except the delicates themselves, an' their appurtinances. Oh! its jist so."[60] But a strong-minded woman is worse. If such a woman gets after a man, Sut advises:

> . . . jist you fight her like she wore whiskers or run like hell, ef you dont, ef she dont turn you inter a kidney worm'd hog what cant raise bristiles in less nor a month, you are more or less ove a man than I takes you to be. Ove all the varmints I ever seed I's feardest of them.[61]

Old Bullen is Sut's particular hate among the many circuit riders whom he meets. The chief "pint" of this worthy is "durn'd fust rate, three bladed, dubbil barril'd, warter-proof, hypockracy, an' a never tirein appertite fur bald-face." He not only drinks whiskey, which he shouldn't, but also makes and sells whiskey, of which Sut says:

> . . . he puts in tan ooze . . . an' when that aint handy, he uses the red warter outen a pon' jis' below his barn; makes a pow'ful natral color, but don't help the taste much. Then he correcks that wif red pepper; hits an orful mixtry, that whisky ole Bullen makes. . . .[62]

Balanced against this odious group in Sut's fantastic world is a group of "right folks." For instance, Sut has a definite use for women. He thinks that "men folks wur made jist to drink, eat, and stay awake in the early part of the night," and that the women are made "tu cook the vittils, mix the liquor, and help the men tu du the staying awake." Here is his selection for a "helper":

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[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 181-188.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 75-79.

[60] Chattanooga *Daily American Union*, Nov. 28, 1867.

[61] Nashville *Union and American*, June 30, 1858.

[62] *Yarns*, p. 86.

> But then, George, gals an' ole maids haint the things tu fool time away on. Hits widders, by golly, what am the rale sensibil, steady-going, never-skeering, never-kicking, willin, sperrited, smoof pacers. . . . They hes all ben tu Jamakey an' larnt how sugar's made, an' knows how tu sweeten wif hit; an', by golly, they is always ready tu use hit. . . . Nex tu good sperrits, an' my laigs, I like a twenty-five year ole widder, wif roun ankils, an' bright eyes, honestly an' squarly lookin intu yurn, an' saying . . . I hes been thar; yu know hit ef yu hes eny sense, an' thar's no use in eny humbug, ole feller—cum ahead!
>
> Widders am a speshul means, George, fur ripening green men, killin off weak ones, an' making 'ternally happy the soun ones.[63]

In the final analysis, then, Harris writes humor which is "strikingly different" and which reaches "the highest level of achievement before Mark Twain" simply because he is able to take the same material and the same forms and to do more with them than the other humorists of the Old Southwest. After the war, when life which he has satirized becomes life which he hates and blasts, in one nostalgic effort he writes a sketch about the "good old days" with only the subtlest ironies replacing his usual satire. This sketch, "Bill Ainsworth's Quarter Race,"[64] gathers together the excellences of Harris, both in his selection of material and use of technique, mellows and softens his robustness without the loss of any of his strength, and, perhaps, rests at a peak of attainment in American humor.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

[64] Knoxville *Press and Messenger*, June 4, 1868.

EMERSON'S TRANSLATIONS OF PERSIAN POETRY FROM GERMAN SOURCES

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MESSRS. CARPENTER and Christy have indicated for us the general character of Emerson's Orientalism.[1] It is my purpose in this and a later paper to make a more complete and systematic study of the Persian phase of that Orientalism. The reader may be surprised to discover that Emerson translated something like seven hundred lines of Persian poetry. To be sure, these were out of German versions, for he could not read Persian. By way of cataloguing these translations, I have provided a check-list at the end of this paper. As Emerson seldom noted the sources of his renditions, and in one instance misattributed a translation, it has been my task to discover those sources in the books of Persian poetry that he read.[2]

In this essay itself I shall try to characterize Emerson's translations by citing representative examples in comparison with their sources. This, I believe, should prove a profitable study in his habits of composition. In a subsequent paper I shall draw some parallels between Emerson's renditions of Persian poetry and his original work as well and discuss, in a general way, the influence of the former upon the latter.[3]

All of Emerson's Persian translations, with the possible exception of No. 9, were made out of two books of renditions by Joseph von Hammer (later von Hammer-Purgstall): the one, the collected verse of the poet Hafiz; the other, an anthology of Persian poetry covering the whole modern period up to the eighteenth century.[4] Something like this equal proportion between Hafiz and all other poets is maintained in Emerson's selections. Saadi, who was nearly as well beloved of Emerson as was Hafiz, is represented by fewer translations probably only because he was already well known from numerous versions of the *Gulistan,* one of which Emerson himself introduced to American readers.[5]

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[1] Frederic I. Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), and Arthur E. Christy, *The Orient in American Transcendentalism* (New York, 1932).

[2] Emerson cited the exact sources of Nos. 24 and 55 only (in check-list below). No. 59, both translation and source, was of course entirely the discovery of Dr. Christy. (The reader must hereafter turn to the check-list for full identification of selections mentioned in this paper.)

[3] Just which of Emerson's so-called Persian poems are originals and which are translations has not hitherto been made quite clear, and in consequence the text of Emerson's poetry is today chaotic. Dr. Carpenter (*op. cit.*, p. 162) has apparently allowed himself to believe that the poems in the *Uncollected Writings of Emerson* (New York, 1912) are originals, although they were definitely described as translations when they first came out in *The Liberty Bell* by Friends of Freedom (Boston, 1851). Cf. Nos. 3-7 in check-list.

Of the sixty-four selections which I have been able to gather from among Emerson's published works and journals,[6] varying in length from 2 to 156 lines, many are fragments of poems; in fact, only some nine are complete poems. Emerson preferred to excerpt lines for their "lustres," as he said; that is, for their pregnant expression of large sentiments. Gnomic, panegyrical, anacreontic, didactic, and mystical verse is represented. Emerson obviously tried to offer a fair sampling of Persian poetry, as will be apparent from a perusal, in the check-list below, of the page numbers in the two books which were his source. The check-list has its own arrangement, but in this essay it has been convenient to group the selections in three categories. I shall describe these as I come to them, and illustrate each with examples from the list.

I

The first category, by far the largest, includes selections with simple sources; that is, selections which attempt to render definite passages *from single poems*—though with varying degrees of exactness and accuracy. A good example is No. 21, which starts out in the *Journals* for 1850 as six lines (entitled "Spring") exactly rendered from von Hammer's version of a long poem by Enweri. I quote the lines and their German source:

Im Garten geht der Wind nun übers Wasser,	In the garden goes now the wind over the water

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[4] Respectively, *Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemseddin Hafis* (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1812-13), and *Geschichte der Schönen Redekünste Persiens mit einer Blüthenlese aus zweihundert persischen Dichtern* (Wien, 1818). Hereinafter, simply *Diwan* and *Geschichte.* This seems the proper place to explain that I have retained the spelling of the Centenary Edition with regard to Persian words.

[5] *The Gulistan or Rose Garden by Muslehuddeen Sheik Saadi,* trans. Francis Gladwin, with a Preface by R. W. Emerson (Boston, 1865).

[6] In the note prefixed to the check-list I have explained my indebtedness to Dr. Christy for the last five selections of the list.

Dass er des Teiches Wangen feilend glätte.	To file and to polish the cheeks of the pond.
Um Tulpen spielt der Widerglanz des Feuers	On tulips plays now the reflection of fire
Das nicht mehr im Kamin und Heerde spielt.	Which plays now no more in chimney and hearth.
Wer gestern von Geschäften sich entfernet,	He who yesterday withdrew himself from affairs,
Den setzte die Begier in Thätigkeit.	Him now desire sets again in activity.

Now it is manifest that Emerson was trying to render his German source as exactly as possible—so much so that he even retained the German word order in places. But it is equally obvious that what he composed was not an English poem. Emerson was certainly aware of this, for when he came to include these lines in his essay on Persian poetry, he dropped off the final two lines (which are not very closely related to the four above them), added rhyme and regular rhythm, and reversed the third and fourth lines:

O'er the garden water goes the wind alone
To rasp and polish the cheek of the wave;
The fire is quenched on the dear hearthstone,
But it burns again on the tulips brave.

More involved is the history of No. 24, which also began as a literal translation in the *Journals*. It is a passage from an ode in Hafiz's *Diwan:*

Sieh' der Chymiker der Liebe	See, the chymist of love
Wird den Staub des Körpers,	Will the dust of the body
Wenn er noch so bleiern wäre,	Convert into gold
Doch in Gold verwandeln.	Were it never so leaden.
O Hafis! kennt wohl der Pöbel	O Hafiz, churls
Grosser Perlen Zahlwerth?	Know the worth of great pearls.
Gieb die köstlichen Juwelen	Give the high prized stone
Nur den Eingeweihten.	Only to sacred friends alone.

The *Journals* contain also these two variant versions of parts of the selection:

Thou foolish Hafiz, say, do churls
Know the worth of Oman's pearls?
Give the sacred moon-like stone
To the sacred friend alone.

Give the gem which dims the moon
To the noblest, or to none.

Aside from the fact that rhyme has been introduced, these latter lines contain a correction of the first translation: the declarative statement that "churls know the worth of great pearls" has been properly altered to an interrogation. Furthermore, "Oman's pearls" has been supplied out of Emerson's own growing knowledge of things Oriental, to replace a more general term. Later, the indecision about the closing couplet was to be resolved. This, finally, is how Emerson presented the lines in the essay on Persian poetry:

The chemist of love
   Will this perishing mould,
Were it made out of mire,
   Transmute into gold.

Thou foolish Hafiz! Say, do churls
   Know the worth of Oman's pearls?
Give the gem which dims the moon
   To the noblest, or to none.

Of mistranslations of the German, there are one or two more significant examples in the longest of Emerson's translation—No. 1. The familiar Persian sentiment that, when you have once gone from this world, you have gone forever, was thus expressed by von Hammer:

Wenn du gehest, kommst nicht wieder (p. 497, l. 8).

Emerson made a comically bad error by translating it:

When thou goest, come not back (l. 101),

which is perhaps good transcendentalist doctrine but bad Persian philosophy. An equally embarrassing mistake was made in another line of the same poem, expressing a sentiment common in the quatrains of Omar Khayyám; namely, the transitoriness of temporal power and greatness. There have been many Dariuses who have conquered the world, says the poet, but now that they are dead—

Aber weil sie hingestorben
Glaubst du, sie sind nicht gewesen (p. 501, ll. 1-2).

Emerson, thinking perhaps of the immortality of the soul, *asks:*

But since these gave up the ghost,
Thinkest thou they never were? (ll. 133-134)

II

The second category of selections includes translations which have been compounded out of fragments of several poems or which have made use of note material to supplement the bare German text. No. 28 provides us with an example of the former:

I know this perilous love-lane
No whither the traveler leads,
Yet my fancy the sweet scent of
Thy tangled tresses feeds.

In the midnight of thy locks,
I renounce the day;
In the ring of thy rose-lips
My heart forgets to pray.

Now these two quatrains are fairly closely translated—but out of two different odes in Hafiz. Emerson was content to call the whole a poem "of passionate abandonment," and gave no hint of its source. As it happens, in the first stanza Hafiz was speaking of his contemplated escape from Ispahan to his native Shiraz (as Emerson knew perfectly well from von Hammer's footnote), whereas in the second stanza he was confessing his enslavement to a beloved. Since, however, there was a similarity of imagery in the two passages, Emerson was able to harmonize them without anyone's suspecting the peculiar surgery he had applied to the poem.

In several instances Emerson made use in his translations of von Hammer's footnotes—when the bare text of the poem was insufficient. Such a one is No. 25, of which I give both the text and the prose paraphrase provided by von Hammer in his notes to the poem:

Seit um meines Freundes Wangen
Runde Zeilen sind geschrieben,
Ist der Mond am Himmel selber
Aus dem Irrthum nicht gekommen.

Seit der Flaum um meines Freundes Mund ein Kreis bildet, ist der Mond am Himmel selber im Irrthum. Er weiss nicht, ob dies ein Mondhof sei oder nicht.

And since round lines are drawn
My darling's lips about,
The very Moon looks puzzled on,
And hesitates in doubt
If the sweet curve that rounds thy mouth
Be not her true way to the South.

There is no doubt that von Hammer's prose sentence, and not anything in his verse translation, was the origin of Emerson's last two lines.

One final example may be cited of a translation which had more than the German text for a source, and that is No. 36:

I said to heaven that glowed above,
O hide yon sun-filled zone,
Hide all the stars you boast;
For, in the world of love
And estimation true,
The heaped-up harvest of the moon
Is worth one barley-corn at most,
The Pleiads' sheaf but two.

It is perhaps not difficult to see how a poet's ingenuity might make such verses out of the following mere couplet which von Hammer provides:

Sage dem Himmel: o rühme dich nicht mit solchem Getöse,
Um ein Körnlein verkauft die Liebe dem Mond die Plejaden.

But it is uncanny that Emerson has exactly rendered the Persian original which von Hammer himself had garbled. A more exact German translation of the lines will make this clear:

Nicht so stolz gebehrde sich der Himmel,
Denn der Liebe sind für ihren Theil
Um ein Körnlein—lichte Mondesgarben,
Um zwei Körnlein—Plejasähren feil.[7]

It is very unlikely, however, that Emerson had access to this later German translation. He must have seen, we may then assume, another translation (probably in English) which rendered the Persian more to his taste (and also more exactly) than von Hammer. Professor Cowell, the famous English scholar of Persian and Sanskrit, had indeed translated the ode in question, and Emerson may have been acquainted with his version.[8] At any rate, von Hammer's couplet cannot be supposed to be the whole source of Emerson's six lines of translation.

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[7] *Der Diwan des grossen lyrischen Dichters Hafis,* trans. Vincenz R. von Rosenzweig-Schwannau (Vienna, 1858-64), II, 491, ll. 17-20.

[8] E. B. Cowell, "Hafiz, the Persian Poet," *Fraser's Magazine,* L, 288 ff. (Sept., 1854).

III

In the third category of selections I wish to cite translations which are so free that they can hardly be called translations in the strict sense; rather, they are variations on Persian themes. Indeed, with respect to two of them (Nos. 9 and 41), I am not at all certain that I have found the correct source in von Hammer.

The most astonishing of all of Emerson's Persian poems is "The Exile," which was the name he gave to some lines from Kermani (No. 35). This twenty-four-line poem[9] is an elaboration of merely four distichs in German:

Willkommen Ambramorgenwind! Du über Kerman's Erde wehst.
Willkommen mir, o Nachtigall! Du in dem Vaterlande wohnst.
Wie kommt's, dass mich das hohe Loos Von diesem reinen Land verbannt?
So lang ich bleibe zu Bagdad, Fällt mir der Tigris nur ins Aug.

In Farsistan the violet spreads
Its leaves to the rival sky;
I ask how far is the Tigris flood,
And the vine that grows thereby?

Except the amber morning wind,
No one salutes me here;
There is no lover in all Bagdad
To offer the exile cheer.

I know that thou, O morning wind!
O'er Kerman's meadow blowest,
And thou, heartwarming nightingale!
My father's orchard knowest.

O why did partial Fortune
From the bright land banish me?
So long as I wait in Bagdad,
The Tigris is all I see.

The merchant hath stuffs of price,
And gems from the sea-washed strand,
And princes offer me grace
To stay in the Syrian land;

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[9] The version among the "Translations," *Works*, IX, 298-299, has only twenty lines, the fourth stanza of the version in "Persian Poetry" having been omitted.

But what is gold *for*, but for gifts?
And dark, without love, is the day;
And all that I see in Bagdad
Is the Tigris to float me away.

It will be seen that the only parts of this that can properly be called translations are the third and fourth stanzas and the last two lines of the sixth. Nor was there anything in von Hammer's notes to suggest the rest of the poem that Emerson made—beyond the statement that Kermani was seldom in Kerman, spending most of his life in travel. Indeed, the first two lines of the sixth stanza are pure Emerson. The fifth stanza, however, and the whole poem generally, may have been influenced by the translator's recollection of the more famous story of the poet Hafiz's reluctant journeys away from his native Shiraz. Emerson could not but have read of the poet's refusal of a magnificent offer of money to go to Bagdad.[10]

No. 27 represents a similar type of translation. It would seem to be an attempt to give the general meaning and spirit of these lines:

O komm' dass ich für deinen Pfad
So Perlen als Rubinen
Herauszieh' aus des Herzens Schatz
Ins Magazin des Auges.

Ich kenne keinen Aufenthalt
Der Deiner würdig wäre,
Du wandelst durch die ganze Welt
Und ruhst im Eck des Auges.

They strew in the path of kings and czars
Jewels and gems of price;
But for thy head I will pluck down stars
And pave thy way with eyes.

I have sought for thee a costlier dome
Than Mahmoud's palace high;
And thou, returning, find thy home
In the apple of Love's eye.

Von Hammer's prose paraphrase of his first-stanza ("Ich will blutige Thränen aus dem Herzen ins Aug' pumpen") does not seem to have clarified for Emerson the complicated imagery of the original, for his own version is equally vague. "Mahmoud's palace high" is another of those specific terms supplied by Emerson in place of a more general term in the text he is translating.[11] The only real correspondence between Emerson and his source is in the last two lines of the passage, and one would hesitate to call the work a translation if Emerson had not attributed the lines to Hafiz.[12]

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[10] *Diwan*, "Vorrede," p. xvi.

[11] Possibly suggested by *Diwan*, I, 451 (Ode CLXVII, l. 1).

As we have Emerson's word for it that all of these are translations, the task is one merely of ascertaining the source and noting the variations. But when we come upon a poem among the "Quatrains" like that entitled "Hafiz," we are at a loss whether to classify it as a free rendition or as an original poem inspired by Hafiz. And if it is the one rather than the other, is the difference considerable? Have we not, in fact, imperceptibly crossed the boundary line between translation and imitation? The reader may judge:

Her passions the sky violet
From Hafiz never hides;
Love-longings of the raptured bird
The bird to him confides.[13]

And these are the lines from Hafiz, as translated by Emerson himself (No. 19), which probably "suggested" it:

By breath of beds of roses drawn,
   I found the grove in the morning pure,
In the concert of the nightingales
   My drunken brain to cure.

With unrelated glance
   I looked the rose in the eye;
The rose in the hour of gloaming
   Flamed like a lamp hard-by.

She was of her beauty proud,
   And prouder of her youth,
The while unto her flaming heart
   The bulbul gave his truth.

The sweet narcissus closed
   Its eye, with passion pressed;
The tulips out of envy burned
   Moles in their scarlet breast.

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[12] "Persian Poetry," *Works*, VIII, 260.

[13] *Works*, IX, 296 (cf. "The Waterfall," *ibid.*, IX, 370: "To the lark's trill unfolds the rose").

The lilies white prolonged
  Their sworded tongue to the smell;
The clustering anemones
  Their pretty secrets tell.

Here, apparently, we have to do with another aspect of Emerson's Persian readings; namely, with the influence they had upon his own work. That, as I shall try to show in my second article, was quite commensurate with the number of translations he made, and therefore greater than is now generally supposed.

A CHECK-LIST OF EMERSON'S PERSIAN TRANSLATIONS

In the following check-list an effort has been made to include all published verse translations of Persian poetry made by Emerson —when four lines in length or more. Two exceptions to this general rule must be noted. In the first place, I have gone beyond published materials in including some translations which Dr. Arthur E. Christy has come upon and very graciously turned over to me. These are out of the Channing Journal at the Morgan Library, which has stored the manuscript away for the duration. I have seen only photostats of a typescript made by a dealer—undoubtedly not a satisfactory source, but it must do for the time being. The other exception consists of the inclusion of three selections of less than four lines each, Nos. 47-49 below. The reason is that those three couplets have been given preference over others in the essay on Persian poetry, by being printed among the "Translations" in the Centenary Edition. Unfortunately, the Centenary Edition is not a complete edition, and for Emerson's first two translations of Persian poetry I have had to go back to the 1847 *Poems*.

Some translations exist in various versions; these are indicated by an asterisk. I have generally preferred to cite the more finished version, not necessarily the later. Thus Nos. 3-7 are taken from *The Liberty Bell* (1851) rather than from "Persian Poetry" (1858). Nos. 21 and 24, on the other hand, are given in the later rather than in the more literal *Journals* versions. Three abbreviations have been used throughout this check-list: "P.P." is for the essay, "Persian Poetry"; *Diwan* and *Geschichte* are explained in note 4 of this article. Thus the source of No. 3 below is to be read: Volume II of the *Diwan*, page 308, lines 1-20 of Ode No. XXIV; and No. 22

is to be read: *Geschichte,* page 236, lines 6-9 of the poem beginning with the transliterated Persian word "Tscharchi."

No.	*Title or First Words, Number of Lines, and Persian Author*	*Source in Joseph von Hammer's German Translations*
From *Poems* (Boston, 1847), pp. 209-218		
1.	"From the Persian of Hafiz, I" (156 lines)	*Diwan,* II, 489 ("Sakiname, das Buch der Schenken")
2.	"From the Persian of Hafiz, II, Ghazelle" (28 lines)	*Diwan,* I, 106 (XL)
From *The Liberty Bell,* by Friends of Freedom (Boston, 1851), pp. 78-81, 156-157		
*3.	"The Phoenix" (20 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 308 (XXIV, 1-20)
*4.	"Faith" (12 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 380 (XVI, 25-36)
*5.	"The Poet" (16 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 233 (LI, 33-44) and I, 285 (LV, 13-16)
*6.	"To Himself" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 356 (II, 29-32)
*7.	"Word and Deed" 21 lines from Nizami)	*Geschichte,* p. 107 ("Erzählung")
From "Worship," *Works,* VI, 234		
*8.	"At the last day" (4 lines from Hafiz)	No source found for these lines
From "Persian Poetry," *Works,* VIII, 237-265		
9.	"The secret that should not be blown" (4 lines probably from Saadi)	Cf. H. K. Graf's *Moslicheddin Sadi's Rosengarten* (Leipzig, 1846), pp. 198-199
10.	"On earth's wide thoroughfares" (4 lines from Omar Khayyám)	*Geschichte,* pp. 82, 15-16
11.	"Color, taste, smell" (4 lines from Adsched of Merv)	*Geschichte,* p. 44 ("Auf eine Melone")
12.	"I batter the wheel of heaven" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 124 (I, 21-24)
13.	"See how the roses burn" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 197 (XXVIII, 17-20)
14.	"There resides in the grieving" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 379 (XV, 5-8)
15.	"The Builder of Heaven" (12 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 125 (II, 17-28)

No.	*Title or First Words, Number of Lines, and Persian Author*	*Source in Joseph von Hammer's German Translations*
16.	"Out of the East" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 272 (LXXVI, 11-12, 17-18)
17.	"Oft have I said" (8 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 157 (VI, 1-8)
18.	"Come—the Palace of Heaven" (21 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* I, 61 (XIII)
19.	"By breath of beds of roses drawn" (20 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 110 (I, 1-20)
20.	"All day the rain" (4 lines attributed to Hafiz)	No source found for these lines
*21.	"O'er the garden water" (4 lines from Enweri)	*Geschichte,* p. 96 ("Kasside," 8-10)
	(The original version of this is in the *Journals,* VIII, 105)	
22.	"Whilst I disdain the populace" (8 lines from Ibn Jemin)	*Geschichte,* p. 236 ("Tscharchi," 6-9)
23.	"A friend is he" (4 lines from Jami)	*Geschichte,* p. 337 ("Gemischte Werke Dschami's," 1-2)
*24.	"The chemist of love" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 90 (I, 25-28)
	(The original version is in the *Journals,* VIII, 487)	
25.	"And since round lines are drawn" (6 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 98 (I, 1-4)
26.	"Fair fall thy heart" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 332 (I, 17-20)
27.	"They strew in the path" (8 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 191 (XXV, 5-12)
28.	"I know this perilous love-lane" (8 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 194 (XXVI, 5-8) and 255 (LXVI, 13-16)
29.	"Body and Soul" (10 lines from Enweri)	*Geschichte,* p. 92 ("Philosophische")
30.	"I read on the porch of a palace" (6 lines from Ibn Jemin)	*Geschichte,* p. 236 ("Didem")
31.	"The Eternal Watcher" (4 lines from Feisi)	*Geschichte,* p. 401 ("Bruchstücke," 6-7)
32.	"From the *Bird Conversations* of Ferideddin Attar" (54 lines)	*Geschichte,* p. 153 ("Der Vogel")

From "Notes" to "Persian Poetry," p. 422

33.	"Drink, hear my counsel" (5 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 70 (X, 7-12)
34.	"Ruler after word and thought" (6 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 72 (XI, 22-27)

No.	*Title or First Words, Number of Lines, and Persian Author*	*Source in Joseph von Hammer's German Translations*
	From "Translations," *Works*, IX, 298-305	
*35.	"The Exile" (20 lines from Kermani)	*Geschichte*, p. 248 ("Willkommen")
36.	"I said to heaven" (8 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan*, II, 327 (X, 9-10)
37.	"If my darling should depart" (8 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan*, II, 4 (II, 13-20)
*38.	"Bethink, poor heart" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan*, II, 573 (LXII)
39.	"They say, through patience" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan*, I, 316 (LXXVI, 5-8)
*40.	"Thou foolish Hafiz" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan*, II, 90 (I, 29-32)
*41.	"Dearest, where thy shadow falls" (4 lines attributed to Hafiz)	Cf. *Diwan*, II, 58 (II, 1-2, 5-6); also see *Geschichte*, p. 93 (14-15)
42.	"On prince or bride" (4 lines from Enweri)	*Geschichte*, p. 91 ("Sich selbst," 4)
43.	"Each spot where tulips" (4 lines from Omar Khayyám)	*Geschichte*, p. 82, 1-2
44.	"Unbar the door" (4 lines from Omar Khayyám)	*Geschichte*, p. 81, 3-4
45.	"Two things thou shalt not long for" (4 lines from Ibn Jemin)	*Geschichte*, p. 239 ("Merdi")
46.	"The Flute" (4 lines from Jellaleddin, attributed to Hilali)	*Geschichte*, p. 197 ("Bischinew es")
47.	"To the Shah—From Hafiz" (2 lines)	*Diwan*, I, 447 (CLXVII, 53-54)
48.	"To the Shah—from Enweri" (2 lines)	*Geschichte*, p. 91 ("An den Dichter Schedschaai," 13-14)
49.	"To the Shah—from Enweri" (2 lines)	*Geschichte*, p. 94 ("Kasside zum Lobe . . . Firusschahs," 5)
50.	"Song of Seyd Nimetollah of Kuhistan" (34 lines)	*Geschichte*, p. 223 ("Mystische Gasele")
	From *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1912) (Volume and page are indicated under each entry along with other data)	
51.	"Come, let us strew roses" (VII, 181—20 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan*, II, 156 (V, 1-20)

No.	*Title or First Words, Number of Lines, and Persian Author*	*Source in Joseph von Hammer's German Translations*
*52.	"Who gave thy cheek" (VII, 277-278—23 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* I, 285 (LV, 1-24)
53.	"O follow, O see the sonnet's flight" (VIII, 542—4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* I, 273 (XLVI, 13-16)
54.	"O Hafiz, give me thought" (IX, 75—8 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 135 (IV, 37-40)
55.	"Let no land, no friend" (IX, 538-539—8 lines from Saadi)	*Geschichte,* p. 208 ("Behitsch," 1, 3-5)
56.	"Had I the world for my enemy" (IX, 544-545—8 lines from Saadi)	*Geschichte,* p. 213 ("Diracht," 15-18)
57.	"Now is the time when weakness comes" (IX, 545—8 lines from Saadi)	*Geschichte,* p. 215 ("Waktanest")
58.	"No soul has he" (IX, 545—6 lines from Saadi)	*Geschichte,* p. 212 ("Dschan," 1-2, 16-19)
	From Arthur E. Christy, *The Orient in American Transcendentalism* (New York, 1932), pp. 153-154	
*59.	"To the ear of the mind" (two 7-line versions from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 548 (III)
	From unpublished Channing Journal in Morgan Library	
60.	"The roguish wind and I" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* I, 146 (LXVII, 21-24)
61.	"The treacherous wind pipes a lewd song" (10 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 197 (XXVII, 13-16 and note)
62.	"For two rewards and naught beside" (4 lines from Ibn Jemin)	*Geschichte,* p. 238 ("Esberai du," 1-2)
63.	"Lo! when from Heaven's high roof" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 187 (XXIII, 29-32)
64.	"Drink wine, and the heaven" (4 lines from Hafiz)	*Diwan,* II, 125 (II, 1-4)

NOTES AND QUERIES

AN UNPUBLISHED LECTURE BY EMERSON

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ON JANUARY 15, 1872, Emerson delivered at New Brunswick, New Jersey, under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association, a lecture which has never been published. His subject was "Attractive Homes." The New Brunswick *Daily Times* of the following day contained a summary, which was obviously a conscientious effort, however poorly written, to report the address as accurately as possible. The reporter admits that he found his task a perplexing one, which is not to be wondered at, for Emerson's mind, never notable for its powers of organization, had begun to suffer a decline before 1872; in consequence the discourse was extremely rambling and incoherent. Moreover, according to an editorial in the same issue of the *Times,* the difficulty was complicated by "the misfortune of a poor delivery," which is thus described: "He stands still while speaking, only twirling his glasses now and then. His words are either not all written or not well remembered, and, digressing from his notes, as he frequently appears to, he shows a want of fluency in language, and frequently descends to a tone even fainter than the conversational, and a manner unpleasantly hesitant. The consequence was that some of his best *bon mots* [*sic*] were lost, and the connection of his discourse not always perceived." The writer of the editorial was not surprised that the listeners were "disappointed and ill-pleased," but to him "the impudent conduct of many of the audience was absolutely inexcusable."

Clearly this was not one of Emerson's most successful efforts. Yet the report, set down so far as possible in the speaker's own words, has a value in that it provides additional illustration of his method of preparing an address in his later and less splendid years. As the notes below indicate, "Attractive Homes" consisted to a considerable degree of excerpts from his previous writings, and probably some of the unidentified portions were extracted from other unpublished lectures. The inevitable result was confusion. And yet the editorial writer already mentioned probably expressed the opinion of any sympathetic auditor when he said:

> He looks the companion of Nature. His words on the country and woods and "tramping" showed that he held communion with it. He had all the freshness of Nature about him in his ideas of home and books and children.

And, if we come to think of it, his style of lecturing suggested the idea that he and his audience were "tramping," in old shoes, plain clothes and an eye for the glories of Nature, along the road, he pointing out and quaintly speaking of the scenes that open here and there, and of what they suggested to him of his extensive reading; and thus, rather than by actual description, presenting to us his ideal of an attractive home.

The report of the lecture from the New Brunswick *Daily Times,* a file of which is in the New Brunswick Free Public Library, follows:

> St. James's Church was crowded last evening to hear the lecture of the famed Emerson. After Mr. Van Cleef had announced the next lecture he introduced the speaker, who in opening remarked that Horatio Greno [*sic*], the sculptor, the man of genius who died young, but not before he had adorned the Capitol at Washington with a statue of Washington, and who designed the monument at Bunker's Hill, and planned the reservoir in Boston after the grand Roman design of the aqueducts, said that nowhere did men build more perfect houses for convenience and comfort than in America. Mr. Emerson went on to tell how the house is an indication of the character of the owner,[1] and the building of a house a work of good sense; how in passing along Staten Island he had seen such few good houses—comfort being sacrificed to show; convenience giving way for the sake of a grand piazza; the chambers to the hight [*sic*] of the lower stories; or the whole house to an Italian staircase; or the kitchen made uncomfortable. Building houses is therefore a work of good sense. In the country the rule is to build low houses on low ground—at least not on the top of a hill. He had observed in Massachusetts that new-comers from the city built their villas on the summit; but year after year the snuggeries, as they were called, never wanted for tenants, while the more airy ones did—and so, he said, in life to gain true happiness we must pitch low, be content with common joys, set our aim low. He quoted the most celebrated architect of France on ancient Roman architecture, in which the country villas were built perhaps but one story, but running over the ground—not built to climb stairs all day, but to spend it walking about in repose and silence—not stone boxes in which there was noise of ascending and descending steps, the ringing of

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[1] A similar idea is found in "Domestic Life" (*Works*, VII, 110-111), a lecture read in Music Hall, Boston, in 1859. See note, VII, 374. All references are to the Centenary Edition of Emerson writings, edited by Edward Waldo Emerson.

bells and crying children. And they were built, too, with the reminder that they were to be renewed every 50 years, and so were of stucco and covered with wood rather than of stone. And then orientation—presentation to the sun—was kept in mind.

Thoughtful men prefer the country—the country is cheap; no man is poor![2]—all are on one footing of labor; and while in the city the houses were beautiful in proportion to the expense put upon them, in the country Nature takes charge. When I bought, continued Emerson, my house in the country I did not know what I should owe to the bobolinks and thrushes, who were not put in the bill—to the landscape, the sunset, the fields and lanes for the tramp; to the indescribable luxuries of the Indian river, which runs parallel to the street and past every man's back door, at the foot of his garden, where lies a skiff which leads to new enchantments every day in the Summer, and where there is good skating in Winter.[3]

Passing on to gardens, Emerson remarked that it required some geometry in the head to lay out a garden rightly. Nothing in Europe is more elaborately luxurious than the costly gardens of Italy or Germany. But without going into the proud niceties of European gardens, there is happiness in the fruit gardens which we are accustomed to place at the front and back of our houses. There is nothing so grateful as the earth—it returns tenfold the labor that is bestowed upon it. If you would have a noble luxury let it be the arboretum. As well as the beauty of trained shrubbery you should have things of solitary excellence which people are hungering to see. Say the giant tree of California—give a start in its life of 15 or 20 centuries. Plant the banyan, the sandal, the upas, the century aloe, the sacred plant of the Hindoos, the Mandrake—that people may see what these things are.

And don't forget, Emerson abruptly went on, the arrival of the 14th day of November, when you may see in the heavens the grandest presentment which they make in the year—or rather every four years. How many poems have been attempted in [*sic*] the lost

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[2] These clauses were lifted from an unpublished lecture on "Hospitality, Homes," delivered at Boston in 1868, of which James Elliot Cabot gives a brief abstract in his *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1887), II, 416-417. It may well be that this lecture and "Attractive Homes" had much in common, but proof is not available. Cabot's abstract indicates that they were not one and the same.

[3] This sentence is taken from "Concord Walks" (*Works*, XII, 171), evidently a lecture given before the Concord Lyceum, probably in 1867. See note, XII, 450.

Pleiades. Have a spy glass in your pocket—pick out the satellite of Jupiter, and the seven, or rather six, stars of the Pleiades.

He, the speaker, could not find it in his heart to chide the man who got into financial trouble by buying a patch of oak timber. There should be trees to line the approach to every house, however humble. He then referred to the fact that nineteen-twentieths of the timber is drawn from the atmosphere—that not only does a tree take root in the ground, but thrusts its top root into the public pocket of the world—the atmosphere; and in proportion to the leafage is the addition of wood. They grow when we wake and when we sleep—at nobody's cost—they have nothing to do *but* to grow. Let a man wander all day in the woods with his hatchet and he is not losing time. He can fancy the birds know him, and even the trees make speeches to him.[4]

After saying more in his quaint way of the delights of the country, where man gets more than he pays for, Emerson quoted Dr. Johnson's remark that few men know how to take a walk, and regretted that so few farmers know what it is to walk for pleasure.[5] The qualities of a professor—as we call a veteran in the art—are good physical endurance, plain clothes, old shoes, an eye for Nature, good speech, good silence, nothing to worry. If a man says he has a passionate love of Nature, it is a proof that he has not. A real lover of Nature will look at the trees and know how to be still. The loud singer and talker is profaning Nature in his walks. There is no such companion as a dog.[6] There are two good companions for a tramp. One is an artist, who has an eye for beauty, so that we can see through his eyes, and through his discernment find out wonderful secrets. A good painter will see what never before appeared to the eye of man. The other companion is a naturalist. It is better and easier to take first lessons in botany, onithology [*sic*] and geology by word of mouth than by books. We ought to be familiar enough with Nature to know the time of day and night by the sun and stars, to know of the equinox and solstice and the daily tides. The naturalist has no barren place, no night, no Winter, no lonely place. The woods at night exhibit a new world of nocturnal elements. All Winter he can see the push of the buds, so that it is difficult to tell when vegetation begins.[7]

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[4] The preceding three paragraphs are made up almost wholly of sentences scattered throughout "Concord Walks" (XII, 172-178). No doubt some of the intervening parts of that lecture were also read at New Brunswick.

[5] The first and third clauses of this sentence are from "Concord Walks" (XII, 177). The second clause is from "Country Life" (XII, 158), the opening lecture of a course Emerson gave in the Freeman Place Chapel, Boston, in 1858. See note, XII, 449.

[6] The preceding five sentences are from "Country Life" (XII, 142).

Mr. Emerson then, alluding to the unhappiness occasioned by debt, spoke of the necessity of keeping always within one's income, and preparing for the costly emergencies that will come to everybody. He spoke of the books we should buy—principally dictionaries and encyclopedias, which were a boon to the intellect, the result and condensation of the history of nations; for books are getting so numerous that those which need to be read but once, or only occasionally consulted, should find place in public libraries.[8] Happy the house which has a closet on the ground floor, where are Webster's or Worcester's dictionary, the American Encyclopedia, A Dictionary of Dates. Happier if these, or substitutes, have been in the house for three generations or four generations. The speaker's dream for a private American house was of a house of people well-informed;[9] and the power of wealth is in the possibility of going to or bringing home such men as Agassiz to talk and unfold new wonders.[10]

We regret that, especially in the closing part of the lecture, which followed the above, what we heard was so fragmentary that we are unable to report it. Emerson went on to comment at length upon hospitality,[11] upon general literature—in which he said that the practice of rhyming and of writing verses of conversation, as they are called, has brought it about that, floating around in periodical literature, are poems as good as some of those of Tennyson which are printed as standard classic poetry.[12] He spoke of the training of boys, whom Carlysle [*sic*] said should be put into a barrel at 14 years of age, like wine, to ripen, but whom Emerson thought there is a better way to train them [*sic*]—leaving them the warmheartedness and the free spirits, but cutting off the uproariousness and the nonsense.[13] And so the boy's best masters in the household are the brothers and sisters who cavil at him, pick at him and laugh at him and hesitate not to speak out the truth to him. And, after all, the great wants of the household are manners and culture, and he rejoiced at the means which are afforded in public institutes to bring about this end. And Emerson closed his lecture by quoting the words of a lady who founded a professorship of Christian morals—"I am establishing a professorship of the heart."

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[7] The latter half of this paragraph is taken from "Concord Walks" (XII, 175-177).

[8] This sentence echoes two passages in "Books" (VII, 193, 211).

[9] The preceding two and a half sentences parallel a passage in Emerson's *Journals* for 1868 (X, 261).

[10] The conclusion of this sentence garbles a passage in "Concord Walks" (XII, 176).

[11] This further suggests a tie with the lecture on "Hospitality, Homes," mentioned in note 2, above.

[12] Emerson was not an extreme admirer of Tennyson, whom he called "a beautiful half of a poet" (*Journals*, V, 57).

RUDYARD KIPLING'S PROBABLE INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN LITERATURE

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AN UNPUBLISHED manuscript letter from Rudyard Kipling to Edmund Clarence Stedman, now in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (and published by permission of the Society), indicates that some helpful reply can be made to the question: What book served as Kipling's introduction to American literature? The book may well be Bayard Taylor's half-forgotten *The Echo Club*—or, as it appeared in England, *Diversions of the Echo Club: A Companion to the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table."*[1]

On November 4, 1895, Kipling wrote Stedman the hitherto undiscovered letter from Waite, Windham County, Vermont:

Dear Mr. Stedman.
Very many thanks for your kind letter of yesterday. It is a fine thing to be a centurion[2] and when you come to think of it the original centurions marched under the eagle. I wait for the anthology and am proud to think my last chanty is in it. Just now I am in extreme trouble over a new book of verses I want to get out in

[13] The latter half of this sentence parallels a passage in "Education" (X, 144).

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[1] Taylor wrote in June, 1876, in the Introduction to the 1876 American edition: "The papers were meant to be anonymous, but the secret was soon betrayed. . . . In London, the papers were collected and published as a volume, more than two years ago." The copy of the London publication in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania has the imprint: London: John Camden Hotten, 74 & 75 Piccadilly. On the page opposite the title is a crude line drawing of what seems to be a bust of Bayard Taylor in early manhood. The price is given on the paper boards: Price 1/6; in Cloth 2/6. No author's name appears.

[2] Kipling's name appears under the "Non-Resident Members" as having been admitted in 1895 to the Century Association of New York City.

the spring. I've held it back a year and cut it down a third and the longer I look at the remnant the badder and the balder it seems. Prose stays pretty much where it is put but verse is like an egg—it kinder addles, if you sit on it too long.

As to the long ago thing to which you refer so lightly[3] I haven't known it, and a lot of it by heart much longer than—Oh "Tempus Edax" as the Ancient said to Galahad eighteen good years[4]—since the days when I first read the *Echo Club* and that set me to ravaging among American poets.[5] But it is to be well preserved for the sake of the blue-pencil initials (you might have signed in full).[6] Its [*sic*] curious how the unexpressed spirit of a poem sometimes drives out the words of the writer. *We* used to wind up Old Brown triumphantly with:—

May make it a damned sight hotter
When you've nailed his coffin down[7]

Ever yours sincerely & admiringly,
Rudyard Kipling

THE SOURCE OF THE CHAPTER ON SLAVERY IN DICKENS'S *AMERICAN NOTES*

LOUISE H. JOHNSON
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A CORRESPONDENT of the *Southern Literary Messenger* expressed the feeling of many Southern readers when, after the appearance of *American Notes,* he wrote that Dickens might be pardoned the faults of taste and temper shown in the book, but that he could not be excused for having "inserted in his work passages from Southern Papers, which were actually the coinage of lying Abolitionists."[1] It is remarkable that the accusation was never, so far as I can discover, made more specific. For, reserving judgment as to the words "coinage" and "lying," which are applied to the abolitionists rather than to Dickens, the charge is true. The forty-four runaway slave advertisements listed in the chapter are lifted straight out of a pamphlet published by the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York in 1839, and entitled *American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses.* Though printed anonymously, it was the work of Theodore D. Weld, who, at the time of Dickens's visit, was in Washington, D. C., acting as adviser to the abolitionist group in Congress. The pamphlet is repeatedly mentioned by Harriet Beecher Stowe in her *Key* as a source of incidents in *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

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[3] Stedman's "How Old Brown Took Harper's Ferry," which first appeared in the New York *Daily Tribune,* Nov. 12, 1859, and won Stedman the friendship of Emerson and the Brownings. See L. Stedman and G. M. Gould, *Life and Letters of Edmund Clarence Stedman* (New York, 1910), I, 200.

[4] Shortly before the conversation in *Diversions of the Echo Club* swings around to Stedman one of the characters, The Ancient, says: "Thirty years ago, O Tempus Edax, must I say *thirty?* when I dreamed hot dreams of fame, and walked the streets in a mild delirium. . . ." (p. 50).

[5] See Kipling's letter to Stedman, July 21, 1894, in which Kipling added this afterthought: "Curiously enough, before your letter came, I was re-reading 'Diversions of the Echo Club' (wasn't it Bayard Taylor?) in the little limp paper-back pirated copy that I can remember led me to the joyful labour of writing parodies on every poet between Wordsworth and Whitman. I used to know whole pages of it by heart" (Stedman and Gould, *op. cit.,* II, 189).

[6] This is not clear. Had Stedman, shortly before this reply was written, sent Kipling a copy of "Old Brown" with his initials and compliments?

[7] Stedman was proud of this variation. For example, see his letter to Mr. Frederick Trevor Hill in 1906 (Stedman and Gould, *op. cit.,* I, 200).

Dickens owned a copy of this pamphlet: it is listed in the sale catalogue of his library.[2] The pamphlet was carefully indexed for the benefit of workers for the cause, and the advertisements used by Dickens appeared under the headings, "Torture of Slaves: Iron collars, chains, fetters, and hand cuffs,"[3] and "Advertisements for Fugitive Slaves: Brandings, maimings, and gun-shot wounds."[4] Dickens chose about one fourth of the advertisements listed under these heads, omitting the dates and the names of the newspapers and the advertisers, which were supplied in the pamphlet, but not altering the order in which the chosen items appeared, and changing nothing except the name of the last runaway, which appeared as Jerry in the pamphlet, as Ivory in the *Notes.*

In the index to the pamphlet occurred the item: "Thomas Aylethorpe cut off a slave's ear, and sent it to Lewis Tappan." Dickens used the story, omitting the names. In the section "Objections Considered: V. It is for the interest of the masters to treat their slaves well," the pamphleteer wrote:

> So it is for the interest of the drunkard to quit his cups; for the glutton to curb his appetite; for the debauchee to bridle his lust; for the sluggard

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[1] *Southern Literary Messenger,* IX, 62 (Jan., 1843).

[2] See *Reprints of the Catalogues of the Libraries of Dickens and Thackeray,* ed. J. H. Stonehouse (London, 1935).

[3] *American Slavery,* pp. 72-76.

[4] *Ibid.,* pp. 77-82.

> to be up betimes; for the spendthrift to be economical, and for all sinners to stop sinning. Even if it were for the interest of masters to treat their slaves well, he must be a novice who thinks *that* a proof that the slaves are well treated. . . .
>
> If the objector means that it is for the *pecuniary* interests of masters to treat their slaves well, and thence infers their good treatment, we reply, that though the love of money is strong, yet appetite and lust, pride, anger and revenge, the love of power and honor, are each an overmatch for it.[5]

Dickens, answering the same objection, wrote:

> Is it the interest of any man to steal, to game, to waste his health and mental faculties by drunkenness, to lie, foreswear himself, indulge hatred, seek desperate revenge, or do murder? No. All these are roads to ruin. And why, then, do men tread them? Because such inclinations are among the vicious qualities of mankind. Blot out, ye friends of slavery, from the catalogue of human passions, brutal lust, cruelty, and abuse of irresponsible power (of all earthly temptations the most difficult to be resisted), and when ye have done so, and not before, we will inquire whether it be the interest of a master to lash and maim slaves, over whose lives and limbs he has absolute control.[6]

Dickens's answer to the proslavery argument that "public opinion is a protection to the slave" was almost as close a paraphrase of the pamphlet. To illustrate the pamphlet writer's final pronouncement "that slaves must habitually suffer great cruelties, follows inevitably from the brutal outrages which their masters inflict on each other," Dickens made his own selection among reports of crimes of violence published in newspapers while he was actually in America. He varied the formula in that he held the institution of slavery responsible for brutalizing the whole Union, and reprinted accounts from as far north as Wisconsin.

In writing his chapter, Dickens undoubtedly felt that he was being moderate, for he did not choose the most shocking and revolting accounts of atrocity contained in the pamphlet.[7] But when, in turning from his borrowed catalogue of runaway slave advertisements to his reports of crimes of violence, he said: "That we may have no partial evidence from abolitionists in this inquiry, either, I will once more turn to their own newspapers," he was certainly not being frank with his readers.[8]

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[6] *American Notes* (Harper Ed., New York, 1842), p. 84.

[7] Such, for example, as the story of the female slave beaten to death by Major Harney and his wife, of Saint Louis, whose body was so lacerated that the jury could not tell whether it had been done with the whip or with hot irons; or the descriptions, reprinted from New Orleans papers of 1834, of the fiendishly tortured slaves of Madame La Laurie; or the letter concerning the cutting up of a slave with a broad axe in Kentucky, in 1807, by Lilburn Lewis, "a sister's son of the celebrated Jefferson" (*American Slavery as It Is*, pp. 89, 91, and 93 respectively).

The chapter on slavery is important, not only because it angered the South, but because, in conjunction with Freiligrath's romantic poems about Negroes, it inspired Longfellow's *Poems on Slavery*.[9] It also made a deep impression on liberals in Great Britain. Daniel O'Connell wrote:

> I am greatly pleased with his 'American Notes.' They give me, I think, a clearer idea of every-day life in America than I ever entertained before; and his chapter containing the advertisements respecting negro slavery, is more calculated to augment the fixed detestation of slavery than the most brilliant declamation, or the most splendid eloquence. That chapter shows out the hideous features of the system far better than any dissertation on its evils could possibly produce them—odious and disgusting to the public eye.[10]

If Dickens had been less swayed by propaganda, he might have been less swayed by counter-propaganda, and might have found it more difficult, as the Civil War approached, to join the majority of upper- and middle-class Englishmen in siding with the South.

A LETTER TO THE EDITORS

CYRIL CLEMENS
Webster Groves, Missouri

IN HIS REVIEW of Mark Twain's *Republican Letters* in *American Literature* for January, 1942, Professor Fred W. Lorch writes:

> It is obvious that Mr. Cyril Clemens did not get them out of the files of the Chicago *Republican*, as we are led to believe; he got them from some other newspaper (probably a San Francisco paper) which copied such portions of the *Republican* letters as might interest its readers. . . . Mr. Clemens entirely overlooked Mark Twain's letters of February 8, February 19, and March 1.[1]

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[8] *American Notes*, p. 87.

[9] See Lawrance Thompson, *Young Longfellow* (New York, 1938), pp. 330-331.

[10] From a letter quoted in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (American edition), XXXI, 152, n. 2 (April, 1843).

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[1] XIII, 439.

Professor Lorch goes on to say that these letters "unrelated to matters of direct interest to the West, were probably *not copied by the paper that Mr. Clemens consulted.*"[2]

As a matter of fact these letters were well known to me, and were not included in the book because they all deal with Mark Twain's impressions of political Washington in the year 1868, and are to be published separately under the title *Washington in the Late 'Sixties.* It was my friend, the late Willard S. Morse of Santa Monica, the famous Mark Twain collector, who called my attention to *all* the letters in 1929. I took my material directly from the files of the Chicago *Republican,* and have never heard of them being reprinted in whole or in part by any other paper. This would be in keeping with Twain's policy of opposing reprinting of his *lengthy* journalistic articles without proper remuneration which, as a general rule, the Western papers were not prepared to give.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Executive Council of the Modern Language Association has authorized, through the year 1943, a joint-subscription rate of $7.20 for *PMLA* and *American Literature.* All checks and orders are to be addressed to Professor Lyman R. Bradley, Treasurer, 100 Washington Square East, New York, N. Y.

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J. B. H.

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[2] *Ibid.* Italics are mine.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

A Biographical and Critical Study of John William DeForest. James H. Croushore (Yale).

The Originality of *Moby Dick:* A Study of Certain Sources. Wilbur S. Scott (Princeton).

Walt Whitman and Education. Florence B. Freedman (Columbia, Teachers College).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

A Pattern of Thought in the Religious Literature of the Ante-Bellum South. C. Dwight Dorough (Texas).

Puritanism in American Fiction, 1820-1870. Charles B. Brooks (Princeton).

The Romantic Quest in American Literature. Mary Culhane (Minnesota).

Types of North American Indian Poetry in English Translation. A. Grove Day (Stanford).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

The Accepted American Meanings of Color as Shown in Literature, Folklore, and Art. Harry Emsley Wood (Ohio State, Fine Arts, 1941).

Adin Ballou and the Hopedale Community. Philip Sidney Padelford (Yale, History, 1941).

Albert Taylor Bledsoe: Social and Religious Controversialist of the Old South. John Boyce Bennett (Duke, History, 1942).

Charles Hale Hoyt: His Life and Work in the American Theater. Douglas Lucas Hunt (Vanderbilt, 1942).

Christopher Pearse Cranch: A Literary Biography. Frederick DeWolfe Miller (Virginia, 1942).

Concepts of America and the Americans by the English Romantic Poets: 1790-1850. William Alton Bryant (Vanderbilt, 1941).

A Critical History of Catholic Literary Criticism in America: Studies of Brownson, Azarias, and Egan, with an Essay for Catholic Critics. Edward J. Drummond (Iowa, 1942).

The Dionysian Strain in the Poems of D. H. Lawrence. John R. Theobald (Iowa, 1942).

The Early Career of Henry Adams. Ernest Samuels (Chicago, 1942).

E. Melius Christiansen: His Life and Work as a Norse Contributor to American Culture. Leola Marjorie Nelson (Iowa, American Civilization, 1942).

Emigration to America as Reflected in the German Novel of the Nineteenth Century. Nelson Van de Luyster (North Carolina, German, 1942).

Francis Parkman and the Spiritual Factors at Work in New France. Sister Mary Purissima Reilly, O.P. (St. Louis, History, 1941).

French Opinion of the United States under the Second Empire. Simon J. Copans (Brown, French, 1942).

Frenchmen in Colonial Virginia. LeGrand Tennis (Virginia, 1941).

From Garrick to Griffith: Transition from Stage to Screen. Alexander Nichols Vardac (Yale, Speech, 1941).

Herman Melville's *The Confidence Man:* Its Origins and Meaning. Elizabeth Sophia Foster (Yale, 1941).

Historians and the Tradition of Pioneer Hardships. Wilfred W. Black (Iowa, History, 1942).

The Influence of Freud on the Autobiographical Novel. Ruel Elton Foster (Vanderbilt, 1941).

Israel Pemberton: King of the Quakers. Theodore George Thayer (Pennsylvania, History, 1941).

Joseph Glover Baldwin. Samuel Boyd Stewart (Vanderbilt, 1942).

Melville's Reading in Ancient Philosophy. Merton Miller Sealts, Jr. (Yale, 1941).

The Mormons in Fiction. Cassie Hyde Hock (Colorado, 1941).

Naturalism and the Pioneers of American Sociology. Rev. William T. O'Connor (Catholic, Sociology, 1941).

The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks: Phonology and Morphology. Carroll Edward Reed (Brown, 1941).

The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks: Vocabulary. Lester Wilhelm Julius Seifert (Brown, 1941).

A Rhetorical Criticism of Invention of William E. Borah's Senate Speeches on the League of Nations, 1918-1920. Waldo Warder Braden (Iowa, Speech, 1942).

Satire and Irony in the Works of Henry James. Viola Ruth Dunbar (Northwestern, 1941).

The Speech of the Hudson Valley. Jane Daddow Hawkins (Brown, Linguistics, 1941).

The Theme of Divorce in American Drama, 1871-1939. Donald Nelson Koster (Pennsylvania, 1941).

Thomas Jefferson as Book Collector, Bibliophile, and Critic. William Harwood Peden (Virginia, 1942).

IV. DISSERTATION TOPICS DROPPED:

American Authors and the Lyceum. Samuel Boyd Stewart (Vanderbilt).

Walt Whitman and the Brooklyn *Evening Star* of 1845-6. Florence B. Freedman (Columbia, Teachers College).

Wordsworth and the American Romantics. Mary Culhane (Minnesota).

RAYMOND ADAMS, *Assistant Bibliographer.*

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BOOK REVIEWS

FIRE AND ICE: *The Art and Thought of Robert Frost.* By Lawrance Thompson. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1942. xiii, 241 pp. $2.50.

Everyone knows what Keats said about philosophy's clipping an angel's wings. I know Robert Frost makes no claim to owning wings, but he emerges from Lawrance Thompson's full-length study of him and his poetry looking a good deal smaller than he is.

Maybe it is not all Mr. Thompson's fault. Maybe it is partly Frost's. He may be just too large a fish to be taken in the kind of net Mr. Thompson uses. It is an intricately meshed net, it is beautifully put together. It apparently brings a poet to shore. But it isn't Frost. Not the great Frost. I recognize some features of the poet. But not the whole poet. He, I think, is still out in the deep.

Surely there is another Frost. The Frost of the new pair of eyes looking at the old world we thought we knew. The Frost who is a good neighbor and a rule-of-thumb artist, the poet who lives as he goes, in excitement, in hazard, and surprise, who operates greatly by inspiration, and never lets his head keep his heart out of anything he says. He is the Frost I like best. And he is not here. He is the poet any poet would look for first. Possibly I am handicapped in my judgment of this book by being a poet before I am a scholar.

Certainly Lawrance Thompson's language is not right. The poet who of all poets living is the most immediate in his words ought not to be dealt with in words and phrases so intermediate and staled with academic use as to be often little more than jargon. A great part of Frost is his freshness. And unless fresh words can be found to explain him, he will not be explained. Words get in this critic's way. Imagine Frost ever thinking—let alone writing—in words like these: "The magic of poetry is its heterogeneity of elements somehow blended to a single autonomous unit." Or, "Frost's own attitude takes him closer to the teleological position of the vitalist doctrine that the processes of life are directed to the realization of certain normal wholes or entelechies." The words around and above and below life are here, but seldom the words that have life trembling in them, as Frost's do. These words come to us at many removes, through the exhausted air of many classrooms and lecture halls. They are not the words in Robert Frost's poems. The critic who defines Frost must find the immediate words for him. And this dullness in words often creeps higher into the level of Thompson's metaphor. I lost count of the times he used the figure of striving towards a goal. It is too bad. For Frost's ideas are often best defined in terms of metaphor, as Thompson well knows and says, and this critic is sometimes capable of fresh and apt and striking analogies. He is capable of a brilliant summing up of his poet in the terms of real estate, in his conclusion—which is the best part of his book—and so his staleness elsewhere counts harder against him.

But the trouble goes deeper than Thompson's words. It goes as deep as his ideas. There has always been in Robert Frost's mind a very real fear of the academic. Since Dartmouth, he has been afraid of the blighting process of erudition as it is often conducted by the professionals. He was afraid that at Amherst, at any college in fact, young people who had it in them to make poems might be harmed and hurt and educated away from making their poems. He is afraid that the study of poetry tends to become the study of everything else but what it is. Logic, grammar, science, prosody, philosophy. And now, it seems to me, his own poems are studied much in the way Robert Frost has always feared poetry is studied.

I think Frost is represented as more systematic in his thought than he really is. He might well cry out, paraphrasing Dr. Johnson, that he has tried hard in his time to be a philosopher, but humor and human nature have always been breaking in! I swear the whole section on meter, rhythm, and rhyme reduces the poetry of Frost to a table of statistics that no poet could ever operate by without risking locomotor ataxia. As a poet, I swear you cannot pay so much attention to your feet. A poet is a sprinter, and his feet think almost for themselves. No idea ever turns around and says, Stop, a trochee is called for here. The idea, if it is moving of its own accord—as Frost's best ideas move—goes right ahead and works itself out, and the trochees come in pat without being deliberated on at all. Live thoughts create live metrics. Not the other way around.

Frost, contrary to what Thompson maintains, has been afraid of systematic philosophy. He has been afraid of it all his life. As his kind of poet, he has had to be. For any fixed system would spell death to his poems. It would take him to one side of the road or the other, and Frost's place is always in the middle of the road, in the midst of human beings, as Thompson has taken pains to point out elsewhere, and as practically all the critics of Frost have pointed out for a long time. So Frost plays Hegel off against Plato, the mechanistic thinkers against Bergson. As a poet he cannot afford to take sides. He refuses to accept even Darwin completely. For he has people to create, and they are more important than he is himself. That is one salient fact about Frost this book misses. Frost does not force himself upon his dramatic characters. He does not force his previous opinions on himself, even, when he is at white heat in the middle of a new poem. He is dealing with life, and not a consistent pattern of ideas. He is not so consistent a planner as Thompson makes him out to be.

The New England poet demands to be left free, to go on learning by trial and error. He does not want to be tied down. He isn't going to be drawn up into any net. He cannot afford to. I have heard him say that a score of times in his talks about poetry. And that is why he has insisted on not writing those talks down. That is why he has avoided writing his Norton lectures down. He doesn't want his ideas taken down and used against him, against poems to come. That is why he asks young listeners to put their pencils away. His talks are his raw materials, "and," says he, "my instinct is to keep them raw." And again he declares, "Their chief value to me is for what I pick up from them when I cut across a poem under emotion." Lawrance Thompson has made the mistake of using Frost's talks about poetry to help pin him down to a system. "When I cut across a poem under emotion"—that is the sharp fin that cuts through the meshes of the academic net Thompson would take this poet in. Emotion and excitement are more to this man than all the beauties of a system. They can create. A system can only relate.

It is significant that Thompson missed the best thing Frost ever said about the poetic process. And Frost wrote that down. He is willing to stand by it. He said it for keeps. "No surprise for the writer, no surprise for the reader. For me the initial delight is in the surprise of remembering something I didn't know I knew. I am in a place, in a situation, as if I had materialized from cloud or risen out of the ground. There is a glad recognition of the long lost and the rest follows. Step by step the wonder of unexpected supply keeps growing. The impressions most useful to my purpose seem always those I was unaware of and so made no note of at the time when taken. . . ." The live part of a poem is that it takes the poet by surprise. The best thing about it is that it happens, in the very act of becoming a poem. Philosophy cannot summon up those things we did not know we knew. Only poetry can do such a live thing.

Thompson takes the hard way of trying to make Frost superior to himself in his thinking. Frost is not a consistent or a profound thinker, but a lively and modest, a cautious and charitable and hopeful one. And that is better, for his poems' sake. And he often deliberately takes the wind out of his own sail and contradicts himself, for his humanity's sake. Great poems have come out of Frost's thinking. But the things that happen in these poems add up to more than so many great thoughts could ever add up to. Frost's best poems are better than the thinking that went into them, as all good poems are. They grow great from great emotion.

It isn't so much what Frost says as how excited he was when he said it, as how and why he said it. He lets life, not art, lead him. His poems happen. They do not come out of theory. They leap up out of life. They turn out better than he or other people could expect. A vast part of Frost's eloquence is the eloquence of his objects, his birches, his axe helves, his cows, his people. These are seen so expertly and charitably that they amount to a whole new order of creation. I know Frost likes to play with theories of poetry. But he is always after bigger game. He is after poems. He knows books. They have helped him enormously, to kindle him and to restrain. But Frost is forever outside them, ahead of them, and behind them. He is after the immediate.

The author of *Fire and Ice* is not the first man to point out that Frost's simplest poems are capable of symbolical interpretation. You can make "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening" into a psalm of man's life in this snowy world, if you want to. It is notable that Frost used to say he was against people's doing that. Now, as he grows older—and because he likes not to be tied down—he says people can go ahead and suit themselves over it. But the woods and the horse and the man came first. And they are more important than any pattern of vastness. Frost can make you think of cautious people in his "Drumlin Woodchuck." But the center of that woodchuck poem, in spite of what Thompson says, is still the woodchuck, I insist. Frost has made us feel better about woodchucks, and that is what he set out to do. And though he may be commenting, sidewise, on the follies of a too carefully articulated society in "Departmental," he is writing about ants and their laughable ways. A good sense of amusement means more to Frost than a moral. An academic critic can carry a moral too far. Frost never allows any lesson to crowd his woodchucks and his little Morgan colts out. They may be *like* people, but they have hairy hides and hobbyhorse tails and are exquisitely themselves. That is one of the wonders about this surprising poet. He makes his woodchucks and colts more like woodchucks and colts than any poet has done so far. He is never superior to his creatures or his men and women. He does not condescend. He does not pass judgment. He will not hurt the smallest thing for satire's sake. That point Thompson pretty well misses.

To see how the academic method may lead one away from the center of a Frost poem, take what Lawrance Thompson says about "The Death of the Hired Man." He says the death of the hired man is secondary. The chief point in the poem, he declares, is the victory of the wife's tenderness over the hardness of her husband. He claims people have missed this subtle aspect of the poem. I think he has been the one who puts the secondary first. I think the poem is mainly, first and last, a man. Frost's greatest man, maybe. I think he is that subtly etiquetted being without whom New England could not have grown to be New England, the hired man. And I think his death matters very much. It is Robert Frost's peculiar greatness that he has taken up all sorts of stones which the builders rejected, Lowell, Emerson, and the others, and made them into the cornerstones of the very temple. The hired man is what this poem is about. The play of a woman's viewpoint against a man's is secondary. Frost may have wanted this dramatic conflict to be the main thing. But his poem did not turn out that way. It isn't a study of the faceless Mary and Warren. It is a study of a man with very much of a face. Mary and Warren are no more than a Greek chorus to bring to us a figure of integrity and even a kind of nobility that is very moving, a man who overturns Aristotle's whole idea of the nature of the hero in tragedy. The hired man never appears. But he is the great person among these three. A drifter, a time-server, a man with no place to go. But he won the love of a boy and a woman, he knew how to load a load of hay like an artist, and he would ask no odds of his kin. He did not have much, but he made his magnificent best of what little he had. He did not have much except pride, but he kept that when he crawled away to die in another man's kitchen. And he kept up the fiction of his belief in himself. There is a pathos in this small New Englander's passing akin to that in the passing of a Greek king.

There are a great many good things in this study of Frost. The analysis of Frost as a man, at the latter part of the book, is excellent. The thoughts of Frost are carefully collated. Unfortunately they do not add up to Frost the poet. What Thompson says of Frost's use of metaphor, in the wide sense in which he uses the word, is most original and profound. No one has written so well on the functional nature of the poet's analogies. In his estimate of Frost's humor and irony, Thompson again and again sends out splendid sparks. One of the brightest is where he compares Frost to Horace. This is decidedly a good book on one side of Robert Frost. The side of the mind. Unfortunately the heart comes out a poor second.

So the whole effect of the book is disappointing. It may be because the author promised too much. He promised a whole man. He said at the beginning that he was dissatisfied with all previous attempts to evaluate Frost, and undertook this study to evaluate him properly. The excellent separate reviews, he declared, were general and superficial. I do not think that is so. I think Frost has been exceptionally fortunate in his critics. Many of them have produced pieces of criticism that are of themselves literature, and brilliant literature of a kind that makes this first long book on Frost seem lusterless. And I think the previous discussions of Frost's poems are anything but superficial. I believe they add up more nearly to the poet than does this extended examination. There is more of the pith and sparkle and muscle of this mistruster of absolutes and systems in them. Such a collection as the *Recognition of Robert Frost,* for instance, makes this volume, *Fire and Ice,* with the emphasis turned away from Frost's poetry of objects towards the poetry of his ideas, seem often academic and decidedly out of focus.

Bowdoin College. ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN.

THE ECONOMIC NOVEL IN AMERICA. By Walter Fuller Taylor. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1942. 378 pp. $4.00.

The number and nature of critical studies of the "utopian" and "economic" novel in America now supply those who are planning further studies in the field with some fundamental statements of fact. They also present some problems. What has been adequately proved? Where has special pleading distorted the nature of things? What are some of the basic difficulties to be met? What is the responsibility of the literary scholar in this field?

The "economic" novel flourished in America following the depression of the early 1870's, and scholarly interest in the type was renewed after the crash of 1929. In the 1930's people everywhere voiced the same ideas that had engrossed the minds of the earlier generation.

Assessment of Professor Taylor's *The Economic Novel in America* may best be made by comparing it with a few other selected works in the same field. Among these is the early study by Mr. Allyn B. Forbes, "The Literary Quest for Utopia, 1880-1900" (*Social Forces,* VI, 179-189), published in December, 1927. In this article Mr. Forbes listed nearly fifty books published in the two decades, and his observations have more than once served as an introduction for further study by investigators.

In 1933 Mr. Granville Hicks, in *The Great Tradition* (revised edition, 1935), developed the thesis that the revolt of Emerson and Thoreau turned to "a socialistic hue in the later writings of Whitman and Howells," that "Utopian socialism became a force in the nineties," that "revolutionary zeal" shone through the "confusion" of Jack London's mind, and that with the appearance of the *Masses* in 1911 "revolutionary ideas comparable to those long current in European nations found expression in American literature" (pp. 293-294; citations are from first edition). The book gives the reader the impression that the spectacle of the rise of Russian communism was a glowing picture in Mr. Hicks's mind, dominating his attitude toward his materials. He was convinced that conditions such as are portrayed in a number of novels of the most recent decades "make revolution inevitable" (p. 299). Thus he was greatly disappointed with the elder novelists: Howells's socialism was but a "vague reaction" to misery and greed (p. 98); "the prejudices of his training and his economic position" led Edward Bellamy to "predict a peaceful transformation from capitalism to socialism; he expected that transformation to take place under the leadership of enlightened members of the middle class" (p. 141). Mr. Hicks was so discontented with the plans proposed in the nineteenth-century books that he gave very little space to a detailed exposition of the ideas in the books; he treated Bellamy, for instance, in only three continuous pages. In expressing his discontent, engendered by the vision of the special system exciting his mind, he closed almost tyrannically the mouths of those whom he was judging. His book is an example of special pleading. Our American authors had much more to say than Mr. Hicks indicates. For an adequate presentation of their precise ideas one should go to Taylor's book.

In 1936 two dissertations appeared relative to the "utopian" or "economic" novel: Professor Claude Reherd Flory's *Economic Criticism in American Fiction 1792-1900,* and Professor Robert L. Shurter's unpublished *The Utopian Novel in America: 1865-1900,* deposited in the Western Reserve University Library. Professor Flory's book, unlike Professor Shurter's, is not limited to "thesis" novels chiefly utopian; he proceeded from the works of Hugh Henry Brackenridge and James Fenimore Cooper on through nineteenth- and into twentieth-century fiction. He recognized that economic criticism was not the primary purpose of novels before 1850, and that during the middle decades slavery was "almost wholly" the single economic subject treated. Not until after the period of the Civil War did the rush of purely "economic" novels indicate "consciousness of class distinctions based upon gross inequalities of wealth as a fundamental problem in our democracy" (p. 242). Professor Flory then properly named the principal panaceas offered: applied Christianity, reform in taxation, abolition of private holding of land, organization of industry on a co-operative unit basis, and governmental ownership of public utilities. His bibliography includes nearly 250 novels written before 1900, and 60 are classified as "utopian." Professor Shurter mentioned nearly one hundred "utopian" novels between 1865 and 1900. He showed clearly enough that the literature of the Gilded Age was not wholly complacent amid social ills. (For subsequent forays, see Edward E. Cassady's "Muckraking in the Gilded Age," *American Literature,* May, 1941, XIII, 134-141, and L. A. Rose's "Shortcomings of 'Muckraking in the Gilded Age,'" in the same journal for May, 1942, XIV, 161-164.) Professor Shurter also indicated that the "utopian" novels after the Civil War were not descended from the older social ideologies of the 1840's. The industrial depression of the 1870's nurtured a different breed.

The latest and I think best book in the field is Professor Taylor's *The Economic Novel in America.* The author has enjoyed the advantage of knowing the earlier studies and he has gone considerably further in fashioning conclusions. Unlike Mr. Hicks, Professor Taylor has approached his material from a more typically American point of view. Currently, he feels that "the romantic ideal of *laissez-faire* has grown untenable," and that we are faced with a "democratically controlled economics," or its "alternative," the "totalitarian state"; he dislikes contemplation of the latter state of affairs, and wishes a control "exercised in behalf of the security and welfare of the *whole* people" (p. 336).

Professor Taylor devotes nearly two hundred pages to the "utopian" novels of Mark Twain, Edward Bellamy, William Dean Howells, and Frank Norris. He is fair to these men, and he has been careful to present their ideas in detail. He sees in Howells the urge to "economic liberty, equality, fraternity; and, above all, economic security" (p. 250). He is right, too, I think, in classifying Howells as the "most realistic" of the group (p. 275). Bellamy's plans are detailed blueprints, but Howells was more sensitive to the inner nature of man. In Taylor's opinion "the socialism of Bellamy and Howells is a thing quite fully Americanized," while "the socialism of Laurence Gronlund is chiefly foreign" (p. 190). This distinction may be less sharp than Professor Taylor believes. Professor Shurter has shown the definite influence of Gronlund on Bellamy; for the influence of Gronlund and others on Howells, see George Arms, "The Literary Background of Howells's Social Criticism," *American Literature,* XIV, 60-76 (November, 1942). In his treatment of the five authors selected as major figures, Taylor has presented a digest which exhibits the precise ideas of the men much more fully than Hicks did.

Probably by force of circumstance, Professor Taylor was compelled to compress the field at large to fewer than sixty pages, which throws the book out of balance not only quantitatively but, I think, qualitatively. He has listed in the bibliography 190 lesser novelists and 237 lesser novels before 1901, and 56 novels published "after 1900." Many of these names and titles do not appear in the index, and I could not find them in the text. It is evident that more can be done, not only in extending description of these novels, but in reaching conclusions regarding them.

Professor Taylor has tried not only to do a social study but to assess the literary quality of the works. This militates against the coherence of the text, but his esthetic judgments are well grounded on the general thesis that the best literary art is "that which offers in largest measure the whole experience of enlarged, intensified, and more significant living" (p. 319).

The summary conclusions of Professors Taylor, Flory, and Shurter are in general adequately grounded and carefully phrased; scholars may proceed from the positions already taken. The critical problem on the social side will always remain as a hurdle for future literary historians. Special pleading is easily infused into any study of this kind, and I think this element shows markedly in Mr. Hicks's work. The responsibilities of the literary scholar may lie rather in the esthetic than in the social approach, but the literary scholar is none the less caught in the content of his study, and must acquire considerable familiarity with the disciplines supplied by the social sciences. There is yet another basic difficulty. Studies in this field are likely to lack unity and coherence. The quantity of material to be described, the varieties of social considerations involved, and the esthetic judgments to be made are difficult to bring into a dynamic form. Professor Taylor's book, indeed, may seem best in its parts—even in its sentences. It is not an easy book to read, but each part is sound and illuminating.

Western Reserve University. LYON N. RICHARDSON.

THE NOVEL AND SOCIETY: *A Critical Study of the Modern Novel.* By N. Elizabeth Monroe. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1941. 282 pp. $3.00.

This work deserves attention, if for no other reason than that unlike most discussions of contemporaneous fiction, it does not err on the side of excessive praise. To Miss Monroe, both our times and our novels are, by and large, badly out of joint. In her opinion, the anarchic individualism which began with the Renaissance, and "ran its course through the extravagance and sentimentality of romanticism," has rendered almost impossible any true vision of human nature or human destiny, and has produced instead the fantastic notions of fascism and communism, the twin-forms of egotistic materialism. Modernity is largely a failure religiously, politically, and economically: behold "the diabolical attempt on the part of organized minorities to annihilate religion, the great armies of the dispossessed living in the midst of a rich materialistic civilization without any stake in the soil or in trade and with no right even to the fruits of their own toil, the loneliness and disintegration of life in great cities when the bonds that unite men have been torn asunder and only mechanical attempts to unite for comfort and protection are left, and the decline of heroism and sanctity before the rising tide of the bourgeois spirit, which reduces all men to the level of tradesmen and politicians and comfort providers." Our novelists might have militated against this decadence, but most of them embraced it; for they lacked faith in God and in man, and "without God or law, man's story becomes monstrous or merely futile." "To set aside the idea of sin, and make man responsible only to the social order, if responsible at all, is to cut the drama of life in half." In consequence, our novels have declined in significance "as a universally accepted synthesis of ideas is superseded by morality cut off from religion and history, by convention, and then by the irresponsibility of a sophisticated humanism which plays with all ideas without accepting any of them."

Judged by this standard, some prominent contemporaries fare very badly. Faulkner "views humanity below the animal level"; Aldous Huxley voices skepticism and despair; Steinbeck tries to explain lust and violence on purely economic grounds; Lawrence is capable of imagining "a dinner party at which the topic of conversation is the importance of the moment of coition in determining the future of the race"; and in Dos Passos, Hemingway, and James Joyce, "description of sin is made an end in itself." In many directions the prospect is dismal—either because of an irresponsible indifference towards human values (Virginia Woolf) or a decadent confusion about them (Proust).

The novelists whom Miss Monroe finds most deserving of attention are Sigrid Undset, Selma Lagerlöf, Edith Wharton, Ellen Glasgow, Virginia Woolf, and Willa Cather. It is, with the exception of the last author, a list which to her illustrates a steady decline. Mrs. Undset stands highest because what she reveals concerning human nature is both profound and widely important. And this, according to Miss Monroe, is owing to the fact that Mrs. Undset is "primarily interested in man's relation to God" and discerns the consequences of that relationship in the sweep of man's history and in the depths of his bipartite soul. Mrs. Wharton, though not so intense in high seriousness as Mrs. Undset, is aware of the crucial importance of moral issues, but ignores their requisite religious basis and therefore falls short of the truly tragic. In Ellen Glasgow, the tendency merely to contemplate moral drifts and predicaments, without being concerned about them anxiously, becomes clearer; and in Virginia Woolf, "open to every influence, except the Christian," you end with nothing but the flux of meaningless phenomena—no relationship to anything absolute, and consequently no coherent characters at all. A slight hope of something better possibly yet to come is seen in Willa Cather, who, though inferior to Mrs. Undset in power and to Mrs. Wharton in finesse, relates her characters to something greater than the finite and the accidental, either to "the vision of a developing America," or to the abiding realities of the spiritual life.

To Miss Monroe a great novel demands the conjunction of a true vision of absolute truth with a great theme. Modern life provides a great (if deplorable) subject; but the vision to interpret it in the light of eternity is too rarely granted. Her exposition of this thesis is sometimes marred by too positive unqualified generalizations—e.g.: "Darwin's theory of evolution, and naturalistic psychologies based on it, are no longer acceptable as interpretations of human life"; "skepticism certainly cannot be the basis of tolerance"; "Mrs. Wharton understands malice perfectly—if men were to read her novels thoughtfully, they would never marry." But such dogmatic outbursts are perhaps the characteristic defects of ardent sincerity. The strongest point in her case-for-the-prosecution is her contention that it is vain for fiction to try to interpret human phenomena without relating them to eternal ideal standards. The chief weakness, on the other hand, to the broad-minded reader will seem to be her tendency to assume that the only form of idealism which can truly measure and explain life is the Roman Catholic form.

University of Illinois. ERNEST BERNBAUM.

WRITERS IN CRISIS: *The American Novel Between Two Wars.* By Maxwell Geismar. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1942. ix, 299 pp. $3.00.

Mr. Geismar's project is to trace the progress of representative American novelists from the cynical commercialism of the nineteen-twenties (Ring Lardner) through the period of exile and disillusioned individualism to the constructive social consciousness of the late thirties typified by *You Can't Go Home Again, For Whom the Bell Tolls,* and *The Grapes of Wrath.* The project is carried through with ingenuity and thoroughness, and but few readers could fail to learn something from this interpretative chronicle. The author's zeal is matched by his confidence. He knows just where each of his subjects went wrong and why, and just where they will come out when their errors have been corrected. The reader is not so clear about this; from the soapbox cloudiness of the concluding chapter he is not certain what precise shade of humanism will save the republic nor what substitute the author has to propose for the collectivism which he rejects. And the uninstructed reader should be warned that, in his concern to make the evidence fit his theory, Mr. Geismar often shows a marked insensitiveness to the ways of the creative imagination, assuming that every position taken by a character in fiction is to be regarded as that of the author. He ignores the fact that *The Torrents of Spring* is a parody of literary attitudes Hemingway dislikes. He describes certain remarks of an odious woman in *To Have and Have Not* as "his [Hemingway's] statement on American love," entirely ignoring the satirical intention and the author's deliberate contrasting of this view with that of the hero and his wife. He takes Christmas in *Light in August* for example of Faulkner's hatred of the Negro as taproot of social evil, missing the pains with which Faulkner has made his Negro a victim of religious fanaticism and race hatred; he refers to the satisfaction taken by Faulkner in the killing and mutilation of Christmas, ignoring his labored satirical analysis of a lyncher's psychology. The worst sufferer from this want of imagination is Steinbeck, who is not allowed to try his prentice hand on a buccaneer (in *Cup of Gold*) without being accused of "urging us to emulate the individualistic power drive," or to reconstruct in fancy the primitive world of blood sacrifice *(To a God Unknown)* without being labeled "the advocate of immolation," or simply to have a good time with his paisanos *(Tortilla Flat)* without being solemnly arraigned as a proponent of anarchy. At this rate there will soon be no place left in American letters for humor, irony, poetry, or drama.

Mr. Geismar will do little to dispel the prejudice felt in academic circles against the use of psychological and sociological clues in literary criticism. And that is a pity, for with discretion there is much to be gained by following such clues. Mr. Geismar does not always follow them with discretion. He is confident that in *U. S. A.* Dos Passos "is a divided writer whose fundamental emotional stresses have yet to be resolved." That Dos Passos is a divided writer is clear enough, but one may question whether it is so much an emotional conflict that is in evidence as a mind's uncertainty how to interpret the data presented to it by experience. Nor does Mr. Geismar improve his case by his style of writing—his high-brow journalese ("civilizational positives," "the American integration of our writers," "the immutable analysis of our worldly activity"); his loose syntax ("deceive ourselves that our world is not changing"); his undiscriminating use of words ("the causes of his art," "the destruction of the evolution of Dos Passos," "the craft of [Faulkner] . . . brilliantly planned"); the jaunty inelegance and ambiguity of "his Dreiserian brother," of "Lardnerian" caricature, wealth, materialism, "Faulknerian" view, epic, geography; and in short the want of ear for language which leads him to garble Shakespeare in this fashion: "Nothing became him in his life, the saying goes, so much as the leaving of it." (See *Macbeth,* Act I, scene 4, line 7.) One must cast a finer net of word and thought or miss the essence both of beauty and truth.

University of Minnesota. JOSEPH WARREN BEACH.

MARK TWAIN AT WORK. By Bernard DeVoto. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942. ix, 144 pp. $2.00.

This book attempts to tell how Mark Twain wrote three of his novels —*Tom Sawyer, Huckleberry Finn,* and *The Mysterious Stranger*—and to evaluate these works. An essay about each is supplemented with relevant documents, hitherto unpublished, discovered among the Clemens papers since Mr. DeVoto, some years back, took charge of them. Both the essays and the documents will be important for future students of Twain.

They will be important partly because, like Mr. DeVoto's earlier *Mark Twain's America,* they challenge previous scholarship when it seems vulnerable. Mr. DeVoto has been chided frequently for being impolite, but it may be that his bellicosity has justification in that it does more to knock down error than does more sweetly reasonable American literary scholarship. At any rate, Mr. DeVoto is not particularly reticent about his disagreements. He points out various facts which collide violently with Mr. Van Wyck Brooks's biographical interpretations, for instance, and he finds errors in the notes of Mr. DeLancey Ferguson about the relationships between the manuscript of *Huckleberry Finn* and the book. Probably his most important service in this category in this book, though, is to show how fallible in his voluminous work on Clemens was the late Albert Bigelow Paine, long accredited because, after all, hitherto he had had a better chance than anyone else to study the Clemens papers. Quite a few details underline the likelihood that this official Boswell was all too capable of making questionable or unreliable assertions, and that he ignored much significant data. It even occurs to one that perhaps a new biography of Clemens which reconsiders all the evidence may be in order.

To particularize: Paine probably erred in making the flat statement that *Tom Sawyer* was begun in 1872; he almost certainly was mistaken when he said that in its first version it was a play; he undoubtedly was wrong in assuming that an important remark of Clemens referred to *Tom Sawyer* rather than to *Life on the Mississippi;* he was making a dubious guess when he said that Twain worked on *Huck* in 1880, and so on. Even more striking was Paine's failure, down through the decades, to see the significance for literary biography of the documents here published. These include the first extended fictional work attempted (1870) by Clemens, a so-called "Boy's Manuscript," which contains fumbling versions of many scenes later to figure importantly in *Tom Sawyer.* They include twenty-two pages of working notes on which Twain jotted down proposed scenes, details, and changes significant in the writing of *Huckleberry Finn.* Finally, they include a manuscript version—one of the most revealing of many—of part of the narrative which eventually was to be *The Mysterious Stranger.*

The essays do an important service when they relate these documents and other writings in the Clemens papers and the Clemens canon to the novels. In each instance, Mr. DeVoto is able to tell a rather detailed story of Mark's struggles to whip his narratives into final form—a story which shows much about the humorist's habits of work, his manipulations of materials, and, finally, the creative psychology which appears to have moulded the fiction. Documented to the hilt is Mr. DeVoto's penetrating observation that Clemens consistently derived his best material from the Hannibal of his childhood. Less capable of documentation, "highly speculative," in fact, as Mr. DeVoto admits, is the story deduced about Twain's mental history during the period when he was writing *The Mysterious Stranger.* This essay, in a sense the DeVoto version of *The Ordeal of Mark Twain,* has at least two advantages over the Brooks psychological interpretation: it is based on much more detailed (and less manipulated) evidence, and it is interpreted on the basis of what appear to be more complex and rather sounder psychological methods.

Another concern of these studies is the evaluation of Twain's three works. Mr. DeVoto is interested in such matters as lifelikeness, unity of fictional method, style, consistency of plot, and psychological values for the reader. Since Mr. DeVoto has sensitivity and a good deal of sense, his application of these criteria helps him make a number of revealing comments. These range from the pointing out of such errors in minutiae as the handling in *Tom Sawyer* of Judge Thatcher, who "ends by swallowing Lawyer Thatcher, whom he is visiting when he first appears," to the drawing of a sharp distinction between the kinds of fictional method which are employed in the various sections of *Huckleberry Finn.*

Though the book makes these important contributions, perhaps it should be noted that Mr. DeVoto's study of Twain at work on these three novels can profitably be supplemented. Mark, as Mr. DeVoto has noticed, had a way of rehearsing his best scenes; this, rather than extensive revision, apparently was his way of perfecting his technique in their handling. Several scenes in *Tom Sawyer,* for instance, were rehearsed elsewhere than in the "Boy's Manuscript." The title of the cat and the pain-killer incident (chap. XII) and details about boyish cures for warts (chap. VI) were mentioned in a notebook of 1866, when Clemens was in the Sandwich Islands. The story of Tom and the Temperance Society (chap. XXII) was part of an *Alta California* newsletter of 1867. The yarn about the schoolroom game with the tick (chap. VII) was used in a speech delivered at a Congressional dinner in Washington in 1868. The account of Robin Hood games on Holliday's Hill (chap. VIII) first took up a few lines in a reminiscent letter of 1870. And details of the Sunday School scene (chap. IV) were part of a letter to Annie Taylor in 1856, of a letter to Olivia Clemens in 1870, and of *The Gilded Age* in 1873. Similarly, both *Huckleberry Finn* and *The Mysterious Stranger* were enriched by materials and ways of handling those materials which Clemens had practiced on during several years previous to the writing of the books. A detailed story of the way all three books were worked up might profitably trace, in addition to those considered by Mr. DeVoto, such rehearsals.

It is also possible, of course, to question whether Mr. DeVoto has said the last word in the criticism of these books. Some critics, for example, may find Mr. DeVoto's treatment of fiction as mythology less illuminating than he feels it is, and there may be disagreements with his conclusions about structure. Quite a few arguments may be advanced to bolster the claim that *Tom Sawyer* has a better structure than Mr. DeVoto finds in it.[1] Even the time scheme of the book, which he considers outrageous, can be defended as a device contributing to developments important in the novel. There is evidence also to support the claim that *Huckleberry Finn* has better coherence, more unity of plot and theme, than he has conceded.

However much students of Clemens may wish for added details, though, and however vehemently they may disagree with points of interpretation, they will be grateful for the meticulous study and the valuable data here made available. *Mark Twain at Work* does a great deal to relate Clemens's life to his writings and to articulate keen perceptions about his artistry.

The University of Chicago. WALTER BLAIR.

AN UNPUBLISHED WHITMAN MANUSCRIPT. By Katherine Molinoff. Number One in a Series of Monographs on Unpublished Whitman Material. [New York, 1941.] 16 pp.

SOME NOTES ON WHITMAN'S FAMILY. By Katherine Molinoff. Number Two in a Series of Monographs on Unpublished Whitman Material. [New York, 1941.] 43 pp.

WHITMAN'S TEACHING AT SMITHTOWN, 1837-1838. By Katherine Molinoff. Number Three in a Series of Monographs on Unpublished Whitman Material. [New York, 1942.] 30 pp.

An Unpublished Whitman Manuscript prints the complete text of The Record Book of the Smithtown Debating Society. These hitherto unpublished (but not unnoticed) minutes were written by Whitman when he was secretary of the group during the winter of 1837-1838. We can know for the first time the topics young Whitman thought about and debated. The accuracy of the text, however, seems dubious. It has not been possible to check the manuscript, but, according to the published text, meetings were held on Wednesday evening, February 7, 1838, and Wednesday evening, February 11, 1838, Wednesday evening, March 7, 1838, and Wednesday evening, March 16, 1838.

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[1] I have advanced some such arguments in an article, "On the Structure of *Tom Sawyer*," *Modern Philology*, XXXVII, 74-88 (Aug., 1939).

Much hitherto uncollected material appears in *Some Notes on Whitman's Family,* but the author should have devoted more time to its preparation. In her enthusiasm over her interesting and valuable research she has neglected important points. She states that "Walt himself did not know when his brother died," yet Whitman recorded Andrew's death in his diary and in a letter to his mother. Both of these have been printed. Mrs. Molinoff states that the date of Jesse's birth is April 2, 1818, yet Bucke's *Walt Whitman,* a book carefully edited by Whitman, gives a different date. Moreover, there are such insinuations as "Probably the full story of Walter Sr. will never be known" and "Is it not strange that Walt failed to speak of either Andy or Jesse to Traubel?" Only about one third of Traubel's material is in print, and the author seems not to have noticed the numerous references to Andrew and Jesse in *The Wound-Dresser.*

In *Whitman's Teaching at Smithtown,* Mrs. Molinoff has diligently gathered all available material relating to the Smithtown Branch School. This includes the report of the School Commissioners, descriptions of the location and appearance of the school, short biographies and portraits of the School Commissioners, and a discussion of the textbooks used. This pamphlet fills in the necessary background for a future portrait of Whitman in 1837. The noticeable improvement in Mrs. Molinoff's treatment of her subject makes one look forward to the forthcoming items in this series.

Brockton, Massachusetts. ROLLO G. SILVER.

THE CULTURAL APPROACH TO HISTORY. Edited for the American Historical Association by Caroline F. Ware. New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. ix, 359 pp.

SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION: *Second Symposium.* New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc. 1941. xi, 559 pp.

Dissatisfaction with one's professional limitations is confined to no field, but in these latter times dissatisfaction with the departmentalization of learning (well dramatized by the cosmic pathos of Professor Arthur

O. Lovejoy) has been especially acute among literary scholars. Vainly the late Professor Greenlaw pointed out that their province is the human mind as it has exhibited itself in the human past. All knowledge in this sense has not been sufficient; and the scholar has been trying at criticism, at the "history of ideas," at comparative literature, at semantics, even at pedagogy and at moral reform. The practical expression of his strivings has been the symposium. It has been supposed that where diverse points of view are present, cross-fertilization must follow.

The two volumes noted above are the records of symposia—not, it should be noted, primarily "literary." The attempt in *The Cultural Approach to History* was at once to analyze and to exemplify a point of view, a method, an approach; the attempt in *Science, Philosophy and Religion: Second Symposium* was to rally the intellectual world to that multiplex mystery, democracy. About forty scholars contribute to the first, and a company so large as not to be counted easily contribute to the second. In a multitude of counselors there may be wisdom, but there is no wisdom in confusion of tongues. Both volumes are crippled by a common weakness: they include too much.

Miss Ware's introduction to *The Cultural Approach to History* is clear and direct. After characterizing the "new" (i.e., postwar) history, she says that the modern historian needs "new intellectual tools with which to view [*sic*] his own society in order that he may achieve a sound and penetrating view [*sic*] of the past" (p. 10). She postulates the concept of an "integral" culture in society, one "in which basic processes of living and characteristic social relationships constitute a pattern of social behavior" (p. 11). And she hopes from history the revelation of "almost endless interrelationships among social functions not ordinarily considered akin" (p. 11). Such a hope gives her this paragraph:

> Applying this concept to some of the familiar subjects of historical study, the historian finds his attention focused upon the place of the subject studied in the total structure of the society. If he is especially interested in the history of ideas, he will not be concerned with problems of intrinsic merit, but with the cultural role of the ideas and their relationship to other social phenomena. His inquiry into the Nominalist-Realist quarrel, for example, will not apply abstract concepts of right and wrong to each side in the argument, but will note the way these arguments were used to serve social purposes. If, on the other hand, his special interest lies in technological developments, and if he is concentrating his attention on eighteenth-century English agriculture, he will be similarly concerned with functional relationships, not with facts for their own sakes. Facts concerning experiments, new methods, new machines are relevant, but they have only antiquarian value unless the changes that occurred in agricultural technology are seen in relation to the changes that occurred in the total structure of English society (p. 11).

That the "referents" of particular ideas are valuable instruments in defining the ideas is true enough; what is lacking here is a sense of the dangers of mere relativism. Those dangers were cogently pointed out by

Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy in the first chapter of his magisterial volume, *The Great Chain of Being,* in 1936, but they do not seem to read Mr. Lovejoy in the American Historical Association. At least, the contents of this volume are wholly relativistic.

What has the literary scholar to learn from the thirty-four papers here reprinted? It is difficult to ascertain, the reason being that, aside from formal reference to "culture," the papers are without common focus or unity of theme. The weakness of the symposium method is therefore glaringly revealed. The reader jumps from the peasant family in China to the "New South, 1880-1936," from the "flowering of New England" to "medieval demography," from folk music to Latin literature, from the industrial city to the modernization of China and Japan. The consequence is that he tires of this anarchy, even while the specialist finds himself at sea. Such mild attempts at common discussion as the five little papers headed "The Flowering of New England" have only a geographic continuum. The result is a sense of waste, of fatigue. Had the same amount of energy been consecrated to a single topic (as in the little volume, *Romanticism in America,* published in Baltimore in 1940) fruitful comparison in approach and point of view might be possible. As things stand, it is impossible to know whether Miss Ware's theorizing about the "cultural approach" to history is being carried out, because it is impossible quickly to ascertain what elements are common in subjects as far apart as "The German Army of the Second Reich as a Cultural Institution" and "Mediaeval Intellectual History."

If *The Cultural Approach to History* surfeits the reader, *Science, Philosophy and Religion: Second Symposium* utterly fatigues him. The twenty-six "chapters" have even less unity than have the papers in the first-named volume, for, if one excepts a vague bow in the direction of "democracy," the scholars have neither method nor object nor point of view in common—or, for that matter, in contradiction. The Catholic speakers utter an *ipse dixit,* but at no point do they and the scientists speak a common tongue. Hortatory moralism, an analysis of Talmudic Judaism, and the wail of a natural scientist at wasting time in this spate of words—these are mild samplings from this undigested volume. Everybody is in favor of democracy, but no two speakers pause to inquire whether they mean the same thing by this, or any other, general term. The heaviness of prose style in most of the papers is also distressing—a desert of grey verbalisms from which, fortunately, one or two essays by literary scholars brilliantly emerge, humane and luminous.

Whatever value to a harassed world the 250,000 words in this book can have is lost since the symposium principally addressed only itself. Had six men been asked to set forth clearly and simply to our citizens what good science, philosophy, religion, and the arts can be to the liberal state, all that the holders of the conference sought to do might perhaps have been accomplished. But as one disillusioned biochemist remarks: "What did the Conference yield by way of strengthening our much maligned and weakened faith in the democratic philosophy?" (p. 47). He speaks also of the "fantastic papers offered last year." So far as the avowed purpose of the second year's symposium is concerned, the volume is equally fantastic.

Harvard University. HOWARD MUMFORD JONES.

ANNALS OF THE NEW YORK STAGE. Vol. XIII. By George C. D. Odell. New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. xviii, 723 pp. $8.50.

This new volume of Dr. Odell's definitive account of the New York stage has, naturally, an interest primarily for the lovers of the theater, whether the plays be by Americans or not. His tireless industry has recorded every performance that can be called entertainment, not only in Manhattan, but also in Brooklyn, Flushing, Long Island, and other outlying districts of the metropolis. He has not limited his research to plays in the English language, and students of German, French, and Italian dramatic literature owe him a debt for his information concerning the dramas in those languages which were performed on the New York stage. With this wide scope of interest, it is not surprising that the imposing volume includes only three seasons, 1885-1888. It is rather a pity from the personal standpoint that the volume could not have included the four years of Dr. Odell's undergraduate career at Columbia College, since it was during that period that he began to attend the theater in New York. Heretofore he has given us the judgment of others upon the actors and playwrights. In this period we have the benefit of his own visits to the theater, generally, according to his text, in the gallery, as befitted an undergraduate.

To the student of American drama, these three years are of singular interest. Augustin Daly, Bronson Howard, Edward Harrigan, James A. Herne, David Belasco, William Gillette, Henry C. DeMille, and Steele MacKaye were producing plays that were distinct contributions to our literature as well as to our stage. Unfortunately it was not to their advantage (so they thought) to publish their plays, so that many of our critics of today blithely disregard them and begin their discussion of American drama at 1900, or 1916, or 1920, or whenever their ignorance of the subject ceases. The recent series of publications, known as *America's Lost Plays,* will leave them with little excuse; but since they have remained unaware of the availability, for many years, of the best of the American dramas of this period, it is too much to hope that this new series will be stimulating to them.

To the student of our drama it is therefore especially cheering to have the tribute of an historian who actually saw the plays at their first production, and who judged them in comparison with the splendid productions of English drama, from Shakespeare to Pinero, which Daly and others were placing on the New York stage. His first chapter illustrates well the fate of a producer who could not see the cause of the appeal of an American play to an American audience. In this period Lester Wallack was closing his long career as actor and manager of Wallack's Theatre. Devoted to English comedy of an older time, he did not know where to turn for new plays. At the same time Augustin Daly was scoring a great success with his adaptation, *A Night Off,* in which Mrs. Gilbert and Ada Rehan were prominent. To quote Dr. Odell, "I still recall it as one of the most delightful evenings I ever spent in the theatre." Equally enthusiastic is his judgment of two other adaptations of Daly, *Love in Harness* and *The Railroad of Love.* The latter, from *Goldfische* by Franz von Schönthan and Gustav Kadelburg, has been paid many other tributes, and led to the enthusiastic praise of Ada Rehan's acting in *The Story of My Life* by Ellen Terry, who saw the play in its first night. To appreciate Daly's contribution one must compare his play with the original, and note his stronger characterizations and his omission of the glorification of the German army.

At the Lyceum Theatre Bronson Howard's pungent international satire, *One of Our Girls,* played two hundred nights, in which he drew a real American, Kate Shipley, against a French background, six years after Henry James had misrepresented the American girl in *Daisy Miller.* To this period belongs also Howard's *The Henrietta,* another success, with its portrait of Van Alstyne, the typical American speculator and his supposedly foolish son, Bertie, the two parts providing fine opportunities for Crane and Robson. In 1886 William Gillette gave our stage the first successful play dealing with the Civil War, *Held by the Enemy.* A study of this play, incidentally, would be valuable to anyone who is puzzled by the apparent lack of logic in the success or failure of war plays. Gillette knew, just as the author of *Watch on the Rhine* knows now, that the best plots are those which set against a peaceful domestic background a sudden imminence of tragedy. James A. Herne's *Drifting Apart* was, as Dr. Odell records, not a commercial success, but its stark realism, ahead of its time in 1888, led to Herne's recognition by Howells, Aldrich, and others and encouraged him to the later writing of *Margaret Fleming.* The collaboration of Belasco and DeMille in *The*

Wife was only the beginning of a union that was to produce even better plays in the near future.

Of perhaps even more significance to an historian of American drama was the survival of John Howard Payne's *Brutus,* of George Henry Boker's *Francesca da Rimini,* of Robert Montgomery Bird's *Gladiator,* of Robert Conrad's *Jack Cade,* and of John A. Stone's *Metamora,* which after half a century of life still held the stage. Dr. Odell does not comment on these survivals, but the mere record shows the vitality of these fine romantic dramas which defied even the so-called realistic era.

Indeed, my only criticism of Dr. Odell's judgments concerns the dramatic ability of the foremost of our realists. The production of Howells's *A Foregone Conclusion,* dramatized by himself, on November 18, 1886, was indeed a failure. But Dr. Odell's remark, "The conviction of that time that a successful novelist could not write a good play was amply justified by this effort" is hardly correct. *A Foregone Conclusion* is one of Howells's weakest novels, and no play made from it could succeed. But, almost at the same moment, Lawrence Barrett was producing with constant critical acclaim Howells's play of *Yorick's Love,* adapted with many alterations from *Un Drama Nuevo,* by Tamayo y Baus. That the success of *Yorick's Love* was due, on the American stage, to Howells, is proved by the failure of Daly's adaptation of the same Spanish play in 1874. It is hardly necessary to prove that the playwright whose one-act farce comedies are the best in the English language and were played by professional artists like Ellen Terry and Madge Kendal, was not a failure.

Dr. Odell's determination to record every theatrical event brings to light some amusing minor items, such as the dramatization of Bret Harte's poem, "Her Letter," under the title of *Poverty Flats,* by J. J. McCloskey, who gave the name of "Gracie" to the unnamed heroine and included heroes of other poems like Tom Flynn, in what must have been a wonderful show. Again the dramatization of Stockton's "The Lady or the Tiger?" solved the question of who came out of the door in the arena by bringing to light an old woman! These incidents lighten the pages of what might otherwise be at times heavy going. But for the courage of the author in pursuing his quest of accurate facts there can be nothing but praise. It is to be hoped that he will continue this fascinating record of a great procession of playwrights, actors, singers, and conductors who have carried on the theater of New York, in rain or shine. These volumes are the best reply to the query, "Can the American stage come back?" If we should believe contemporary critics, it has always been in ruins and yet, somehow, it has always survived.

The University of Pennsylvania. ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN.

THE BELOVED HOUSE. By T. M. Pearce. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers. 1940. 239 pp. $2.50.

MARY AUSTIN: *Woman of Genius.* By Helen MacKnight Doyle. New York: Gotham House. 1939. 302 pp. $3.00.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE WRITINGS OF MARY AUSTIN (1868-1934). By Dudley Taylor Wynn. (An Abridgment.) Published by the Graduate School of Arts and Science of New York University. 1941. 22 pp. $0.75.

The death of Mary Austin in 1934 emphasized the timeliness of reminiscences and interpretations that shed light on her personality and creative processes and so furnish the data for a critical evaluation of her place in American letters. Three recent publications, each in its way incomplete, are valuable additions to the available material on Mrs. Austin. T. M. Pearce's *The Beloved House* is a sympathetic yet penetrating interpretation of Mary Austin's leading ideas, together with some new biographical items. Helen MacKnight Doyle's *Mary Austin: Woman of Genius* extends considerably our knowledge of Mrs. Austin's private life. Dudley T. Wynn's abridged study of her writings furnishes a frame of reference for serious students.

The basic chronicle of the life of Mary Austin is her autobiography, *Earth Horizon* (1932), in which she gives a full account of what seemed to her to be most important in her own life—the development of "I-Mary." Concerning some chapters of her career she is painstakingly detailed; regarding others she is almost silent, as for example, her unhappy marriage. The phases of her autobiography which she gives in detail stand ready for critics and biographers to interpret; but the phases where Mary is reticent need the further testimony of her friends and the research of scholars.

T. M. Pearce, a member of the literary group in New Mexico over which Mrs. Austin presided, qualifies both as a scholar and as a friend of his subject. His book reflects his double role. He contributes fresh biographical material for two periods of her life: her childhood in Carlinville, Illinois, and her latter years in Santa Fé. The Carlinville items are for the most part interesting gossip gleaned by the writer during a brief visit there. The Santa Fé episodes, however, are more revealing and authentic. Casa Querida, the home Mary Austin built in Santa Fé, becomes for him a symbol typifying America and the American continent—the beloved house.

The stated aim of *The Beloved House* is not "to rewrite Mary Austin's life" but "to estimate the vitality of [her] leading ideas, the permanence of her literary accomplishment, her significance as a champion of America's regional life." Therefore, Mr. Pearce astutely analyzes the different roles in which her vast energy expressed itself: regionalist, mystic, social humanitarian, prophet, feminist, naturist, poet, storyteller. Within this convenient framework, he manages to include many anecdotes and impressions—he knew Mary Austin well in her Santa Fé days—as a sort of support of his interpretation of her personality and writings. Rather uncritically, he appears to accept as equally valid all his evidence regarding Mrs. Austin's philosophy, whether it be a quotation from *Earth Horizon,* or one of her forthright remarks to Witter Bynner, or a statement made by a character in one of her novels. His attitude toward her is that of younger follower, disciple; a relationship which lends charm to the book the while it impairs somewhat the critical value of its judgments.

There are a few mannerisms and stylistic tricks in *The Beloved House* that weaken its effect. However, to atone for his tendency to overwrite, Mr. Pearce coins admirable sentences and phrases, as when he says, "Dr. Mary was essentially a small town woman," or places her "in a field midway between the geographer and the psychologist." Moreover, he carefully documents his book, adding factual material and footnotes at the end. No future student of Mary Austin can afford to ignore *The Beloved House;* and by virtue of its enthusiasm and color this interpretation may well serve to introduce Mary Austin to a much wider reading public than she has yet enjoyed.

Helen MacKnight Doyle's *Mary Austin: Woman of Genius,* although a longer book, is a less ambitious undertaking than Mr. Pearce's. Her study is biographical only, and is concentrated upon the periods of Mary Austin's life when Mrs. Doyle knew her personally. For the Carlinville period, before they met, she relies almost wholly upon *Earth Horizon;* but for the Bakersfield, Inyo County, and Carmel phases she supplies a great deal of new material. Her notations on the Santa Fé years are short, and less valuable than Mr. Pearce's.

In *Earth Horizon* Mary Austin tells of Helen MacKnight, a woman physician in Bishop, to whom she turned for medical aid for her child. There is only the single mention, but the two women were friends for the rest of Mary's life. Moreover, Helen MacKnight, later Doyle, knew her at the crucial period of her child's illness, her husband's financial failures, and her struggles for literary recognition, a period about which we find all too little information in *Earth Horizon.* Mrs. Doyle compiles her account largely from her own observations and diagnoses, based upon many frank conversations. Her attitude is that of a sympathetic psychiatrist trying to root out the sources of her patient's troubles. For example, she places severe blame upon the mother and the husband for their coldness to Mary. To her clinical notes Dr. Doyle adds gleanings from local papers and records, and gossip from old folks who recall the eccentric Mrs. Wallace Austin.

Helen MacKnight Doyle is even more uncritical of her evidence than Mr. Pearce, who does occasionally indulge himself in a few whimsies at Mary's expense. The future student who uses the new materials abundantly supplied in *Mary Austin: Woman of Genius* must be on his guard in interpreting them. He must be prepared to distinguish between facts and Dr. Doyle's sympathetic psychoanalysis. The general reader who is curious about Mary Austin's personal life, especially her marriage, will find the book interesting as well as informative.

A Critical Study of the Writings of Mary Hunter Austin (1868-1934) by Dudley T. Wynn is a pamphlet containing one chapter of his recent doctoral dissertation (1941) and a short statement of the purpose and contents of his whole study. The purpose, we are told, is "(1) to survey and interpret Mary Austin's whole work, in the hope that her separate writings, often having abstruse themes, will be more understandable in the light of her entire production; and (2) to show her affiliations with intellectual and literary currents of the years through which she lived."

The chapter made available in this abridgment, titled "Nature Writings," relates Mary Austin directly with the "naturists," especially the tradition since the publication of Emerson's *Nature*. Specific influences are suggested: "Out of this strange compound of Hugh Miller, Muir, Thoreau, Emerson, amateur botanizing, observation of Indians, and the example of Seton grew Mary Austin's nature writing." Her six volumes of nature writing are analyzed to show her deviations from the "pure natural-history essays," with emphasis upon her "vision of an intramontane culture in the Colorado River Basin, with the village pattern of small-scale communalism, local integrity and self-sufficiency, and 'aesthetics as a mode of life behavior.'" For the "pragmatical Mary Austin" Mr. Wynn seemingly has great admiration, but toward her "purely personal mysticism" he is unsympathetic.

No just estimate of Mr. Wynn's whole study can be made on the basis of this one chapter; but until he or some one else makes available a fuller study of the Mary Austin canon, we can turn to his pamphlet for helpful illumination at one point and for an excellent example of method in interpreting her writing.

Texas Christian University. REBECCA W. SMITH.

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO AMERICAN LITERATURE. By James D. Hart. New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. viii, 888 pp. $5.00.

The Oxford *Companions* are a law unto themselves, a law probably invented by Sir Paul Harvey. There are now three of them, one for Classical, one for English (including American), and the biggest of all for American (including Canadian but not Latin-American) literature.

Harvey stated his purpose as providing "a useful companion to ordinary everyday readers." Hart has rephrased this, "a useful companion for students and general readers." The change is significant, and accounts for the increased bulk and the somewhat shifted emphasis of the volume dealing with the smaller body of literature. The element of selectivity is greatly reduced: minor authors and minor works receive more attention, most entries are more detailed, historical and social backgrounds are more fully treated. On the other hand, antiquarian lore and mythological reference are reduced in emphasis, perhaps because in this country the M.A. candidate has supplanted the country parson as the chief source of our petty scholarship.

The basic character of the work, however, is in the Harvey tradition. For an entry on "The Derby," there is one on "The Kentucky Derby"; those on "Jacobin" are of the same length and kind in both volumes, though they are not identical; for a half column on *She Stoops to Conquer,* there is one on *The Contrast* of equal length; for a cross reference on Hetty Sorrel, there is one on Hester Prynne, and a similar reference for Isabel Archer appears in both works; for the entry on "Richard Bentley" in Harvey, there is a "Matthew Carey" in Hart; and for "Waterloo," there is "Yorktown." But such Harvey entries as "Damocles," "Robin Goodfellow," "Jörmungander," "Lokman," "Pentecost," and "Vishnu" are supplanted in Hart by "George A. Custer," "Eutaw Springs," "Gringo," "Humanism," "Muckraking," and "Know-Nothing Movement." In short, there is less of Brewer and more of Parrington. Hart is stronger, too, on contemporary literature.

Accuracy is a matter of prime importance in such a work as this, and a hit-and-miss check indicates not more than two per cent of entries containing slight misstatements or errors of fact. This is a good average for a first edition of a work which is composed almost entirely of facts.

Some false perspectives result from the compiler's effort to maintain an objective and uncritical point of view. Such a statement as "the whale [Moby Dick] may be taken to represent infinite evil in the universe, and Ahab the will of man that opposes this force," conforms to the judgment of some critics, but is too succinct not to be misleading; a synopsis of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* which suggests neither its humor nor its implied social criticism cannot be said to be wholly accurate; a reference work which gives more careful attention to Freneau's "House of Night" than to Poe's "Ulalume" lacks critical standards even of selection. But as the *Companions* make no pretension to being works of criticism, they should be respected for their shortcomings as well as for their general usefulness. The reader is less likely to be disappointed by Hart than by Harvey because of the increased number of entries, and if he uses the book as a companion to his reading rather than as a substitute for either literature or literary history and criticism, the pages ought soon to become dog-eared.

Swarthmore College. ROBERT E. SPILLER.

BRIEF MENTION

THE ENGLISH NOVEL IN TRANSITION 1885-1940. By William C. Frierson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1942. 333 pp. $3.00.

Professor Frierson's study is a rapid survey of the ideas and techniques characterizing English novels from the period of infiltration of French Naturalism to the present time. The chapters include, among other matters, a survey of the controversy over Naturalism, the reaction against Dickens, the "novel of ideas," "subjectivism," "the life-novel," "impressionism," "the Freudians," and the postwar "sophisticates." Judicious selection of paragraphs from the writings of many of the authors helps to convey exact points of view.

The one special association with American fiction is the chapter on Henry James, whose work Mrs. Katharine Fullerton Gerould has characterized as introducing the modern stream-of-consciousness technique. To those who early adored his work, James seemed to be "the only person who ever recorded the things that go on in the mind *exactly as they go on in the mind*" (pp. 214-215). The chapter on James is brief, but the discussion of his use of logical deduction, "evil," and "psychological reason" is informative. The only shock which stuns the reader occurs in the first sentence of the chapter, which announces that James was born at Northampton, Massachusetts. Surely this was not another case of a baby's being born "in the absence of his parents," as a country newspaper editor reported in announcing the arrival of a child to a family temporarily out of town.

Western Reserve University. LYON N. RICHARDSON.

LIVING LETTERS FROM AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited by Edward Boykin. Garden City: Halcyon House. 1942. xvi, 387 pp. $1.98.

The letters in this collection, some of them printed for the first time, were chosen because they either made or recorded American history. The compiler has tried "to parallel great events, crucial moments, national crises, major decisions, with contemporary correspondence." Here, for example, is the Washington-Cornwallis correspondence settling the terms of surrender at Yorktown, and Oliver Hazard Perry's "We have met the enemy and they are ours" letter. And here are the moving letters of Major André, written when he was facing death as a spy; Colonel William Barret Travis's heroic note from the Alamo; and John Brown's last letter to his family, written from Charlestown Prison. Not all the letters are by the great men of history; there is the amusing note from Abigail Adams at Washington ("Yesterday I returned fifteen visits,—but such a place as Georgetown appears,—why, our Milton is beautiful"). Some of this material is marginal or submarginal literature, but some of it is great literature by any definition. Students of our literary history have, on the whole, neglected epistolary writing; they would do well to broaden the canon of American literature to include some of this material.

The selections are concentrated in the Revolutionary, Early Republican, and Civil War periods. One regrets the omission of such colonial letters as those of John and Margaret Winthrop or the early letters of Benjamin Franklin; and one could wish that more letters had been included from the post-Civil War period (those of Henry Adams or Mr. Justice Holmes or Theodore Roosevelt's letters to his children spring to mind). Mr. Boykin's breezy introductory notes provide adequate connective tissue.

Swarthmore College. FREDERICK B. TOLLES.

WHAT OF THE IOWA POETS? By Jessie Welborn Smith. New York: Henry Harrison. 1941. 34 pp. $0.25.

This brochure, dealing with the poetic product of the state of Iowa, contains considerable material of strictly local interest. That such poems as "There Is No Death," "If I Should Die Tonight," and "The Little Brown Church in the Vale" should have happened to be written by Iowans is of no more importance than any similar group of titles associated with any other state. Curious rather than important is the additional fact that Iowa should have happened to furnish poet laureates to five neighboring states. Of more significance is the evidence afforded of the vigorous creative atmosphere of the Middle West. Included along with the names of such remembered or contemporary poets as Piper and

Ficke, Sigmund and Engle, Farran and Tull, are those of more than a score of individuals whose occupations as teachers or housewives have afforded opportunity for composition of poems published in national magazines and collections of regional and national verse. That the product should be so large and so respectable is the significant fact demonstrated by this volume.

The University of Iowa. BARTHOLOW V. CRAWFORD.

BOOKMAKING & KINDRED AMENITIES: *Being a Collection of Essays by Beatrice Warde, Richard Ellis, Carl Purington Rollins, Bennett A. Cerf, George Stevens, Philip Van Doren Stern, Earl Schenck Miers, Lewis Gannett, Lawrance Thompson, Laurence Gomme, Arthur W. Rushmore.* Edited with An Introduction and Notes by Earl Schenck Miers and Richard Ellis. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press in Association with The Haddon Craftsmen. 1942. xiii, 147 pp. $3.50.

Here a group of distinguished bookmakers have candidly discussed their problems and succeeded in retaining their sense of humor. Heartily recommended to inexperienced authors, especially Ph.D. candidates whose dissertations are about to be submitted to an "ugly" world of publishers, editors, designers, reviewers, and booksellers.

Duke University. DAVID K. JACKSON.

PHILIP PENDLETON COOKE. By John D. Allen. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1942. x, 123 pp. $2.00.

This study is the outgrowth of Professor Allen's Vanderbilt doctoral dissertation, a critical and biographical study (1939). "The present study," he tells us in his Foreword, "was originally planned as a biographical introduction to an edition of Cooke's uncollected poetry and prose. Criticism was to be subordinated to biography. . . . The project of an edition, however, has been postponed until more settled times; and in consequence this study . . . has been revised to present more interpretation than was at first thought necessary. But it retains all of the important data in the dissertation, and it remains mostly biography." It is unfortunate that Professor Allen could not carry out his intention of reprinting Cooke's works, some of which he has been the first to identify. His book is a good brief biography of the poet and writer of tales, the friend of Kennedy, Poe, and Griswold. His bibliography is of great value, but in a number of instances it is not complete. He has not indicated the pseudonyms which Cooke used for many of his poems, and in a number of cases he has not given full reference to page and volume. He omits Cooke's well-known letter to J. Hunt, Jr., about "Florence Vane." He also unaccountably omits from his discussion of Poe's relations with Cooke a letter from Cooke to T. W. White printed in part on the cover of the *Southern Literary Messenger* for September, 1835. In this letter Cooke wrote: "For God's sake, value him [Poe] according to his merits, which are exceeding great. I say this with deliberation, for I have been months in coming to the conclusion that he is the first genius, in his line, in Virginia." I quote from David K. Jackson's "Philip Pendleton Cooke: Virginia Gentleman, Lawyer, Hunter, and Poet" (*American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd,* 1940), an essay which Professor Allen refers to in a footnote but unaccountably leaves out of his bibliography. Mr. Jackson's excellent essay is the only scholarly study of Cooke which antedates Professor Allen's book, and it is surprising that he should have made so little use of it. Professor Allen's study, however, is so much better than most available biographical sketches of lesser Southern authors that it will prove very useful to those students who may be interested in Cooke's writings, which have distinct merits, or in his relations with other writers.

THE SHORT STORIES OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY: *The First Forty-Nine Stories and the Play* The Fifth Column. New York: The Modern Library. [1942.] x, 597 pp. $1.45.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SANTAYANA. Edited, with an Introductory Essay, by Irwin Edman. [New York]: The Modern Library. [1942.] lvi, 596 pp. $0.95.

LOOKING BACKWARD 2000—1887. By Edward Bellamy. With an Introduction by Heywood Broun. New York: The Modern Library. [1942.] x, 276 pp. $0.95.

The year just past saw the addition to the excellent Modern Library series of these three widely different but important books. Mr. Hemingway contributes a Preface to the collection of his short stories, which were all written in the years 1921-1938. In his Introduction to *Looking Backward* Heywood Broun stresses the native origins of Bellamy's radicalism. Professor Irwin Edman, selected by Santayana as editor, says of *The Philosophy of Santayana:*

> The principle of selection has been philosophical rather than literary. Some passages of special eloquence have been sacrificed in the interest of selections that, in the context of the whole volume, would better represent the total movement of the author's general philosophy. But it is believed the reader will find all the characteristic facets of the author's mind, and nearly all the aspects of experience over which his mind has played.

With this principle in mind the editor has chosen his selections with skill and taste. The student of literature, however, would like to see Santayana's literary criticism more fully represented. Indeed, it seems not improbable that the coming generations may remember Santayana as a writer rather than as a philosophic thinker.

UNDERSTANDING ENGLISH: *An Introduction to Semantics.* By F. A. Philbrick. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1942. xiv, 209 pp. $1.50.

This excellent textbook, designed primarily for Freshmen, makes considerable use of Coleridge's comments on semantics.

AMERICAN FOLK SONG AND FOLK LORE: *A Regional Bibliography.* By Alan Lomax and Sidney Robertson Cowell. [P. E. A. Service Center Pamphlet. New York: Progressive Education Association. 1942.] ii, 59 pp

In addition to sections on the North, the White South, the Negro South, and the West, this useful bibliography contains material on Occupational Ballads, Dances and Games, White Spirituals, Spanish-American, and French-American folk materials.

A CATALOGUE OF THE WRITINGS OF WILLIAM FAULKNER. By Robert W. Daniel. Published on the Occasion of an Exhibition in the Yale University Library. New Haven: Yale University Library. Summer, 1942. 32 pp.

"The following compilation combines a descriptive bibliography of Faulkner's American first editions with a check-list of reprints, foreign editions, translations, scenarios, and appearances in collections and periodicals, as well as of writings about Faulkner and his work. . . .

"The list of scenarios and Faulkner's contributions to periodicals I believe to be complete. The list of anthologies in which his work appears probably is not. . . . The list of writings about Faulkner is a selected one; it includes only the more interesting book-reviews, for instance" (Preface).

THE BEST AMERICAN SHORT STORIES 1942: *And The Yearbook of the American Short Story.* Edited by Martha Foley. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1942. xvi, 428 pp. $2.75.

Martha Foley, who took over this series when Edward J. O'Brien died, says of her principle of selection: "My own approach to the selection of the stories in this volume has been to follow as closely as possible what O'Brien himself sought: literary distinction, integrity on the part of the author and a freedom from hampering, artificial restrictions." She comments on the excellence of the stories appearing in the *New Yorker* and the *Saturday Evening Post.* "As to the magazines with national, popular circulation," she says, "I made an important discovery. The lifeless plotted story, with the forced happy or trick ending, is dying, slowly but surely dying. The last stronghold of the artificial, dishonest type of story seems to be some of the women's magazines." Echoes of the war are noticeable in a number of the stories reprinted here. The magazines from which the editor has chosen three or more stories are ***Story, Harper's Bazaar,*** the *New Yorker,* and the ***Saturday Evening Post.***

THOMAS HARDY IN MAINE. By Carl J. Weber. Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press. 1942. 21 pp.

Drawing upon the resources of the Hardy collection at Colby College, Professor Weber comments in interesting fashion on Hardy's reputation in America and in England and on various editions of Hardy's works.

RETROSPECT OF WESTERN TRAVEL. By Harriet Martineau. In Two Volumes. London: Published by Saunders and Otley. New-York: Sold by Harper & Brothers. 1838. [New edition in facsimile: New York: Harper & Brothers. 1942.] 276, 239 pp. $4.00.

From the books which they published a century ago Messrs. Harper & Brothers have chosen for reproduction one of the most important—a more interesting book than Miss Martineau's earlier ***Society in America.***

THE YALE REVIEW ANTHOLOGY. Edited with an Introduction by Wilbur Cross and Helen MacAfee. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 1942. 405 pp. $2.75.

In its present form the *Yale Review* dates back to 1911. Dr. Cross and Miss MacAfee have classified their well-chosen selections under three headings: Essays and Sketches, Public Affairs, and Imaginative Literature. Among the more memorable pieces here reprinted are Henry A. Beers's "A Pilgrim in Concord," Archibald MacLeish's "The American Writers and the New World," Julian Huxley's "The Uniqueness of Man," and Thomas Mann's "Disillusion." The Introduction is excellent.

JOHN PARADISE AND LUCY LUDWELL OF LONDON AND WILLIAMSBURG. By Archibald Bolling Shepperson. Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, Incorporated. 1942. 501 pp. $4.00.

This book, by the editor of the ***Virginia Quarterly Review,*** is an important contribution to the study of Anglo-American relations in the second half of the eighteenth century. Lucy Ludwell, daughter of a prominent Virginia planter and Councilor, married John Paradise, of mixed English and Greek ancestry. Paradise belonged to the Royal Society and was a member of Dr. Johnson's famous Club, and he was a friend of Fanny Burney, James Boswell, Arthur Lee, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and of many prominent Londoners of the time. These and many others appear in this volume (published jointly by The Dietz Press and Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated). Lucy Ludwell, beautiful and imperious, did not share her husband's intellectual interests, but they agreed in their loyalty to the American cause. Mr. Shepperson has portrayed with considerable skill the various interesting men and women who moved in the Paradise circle in London.

POEMS OF THIS WAR. By Younger Poets. Edited by Patricia Ledward and Colin Strang. With an Introduction by Edmund Blunden. Cambridge: At the University Press. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1942. xii, 99 pp. $1.75.

The poems in this volume are by the younger English poets, few of whom are yet widely known. The poems themselves are well chosen and skillfully arranged. In an excellent Introduction Mr. Blunden comments on the differences between these poems and those written during World War I.

USAGE AND ABUSAGE: *A Guide to Good English.* By Eric Partridge. New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers. [1942.] xii, 369 pp. $3.00.

Mr. Partridge has arranged his material in dictionary form, and has included illuminating discussions of such topics as ambiguity, archaisms, clichés, elegancies, jargon, literarisms, battered similes, verbosity, woolliness, etc. Illustrative quotations are an excellent feature of the book. Mr. Partridge, incidentally, does not hesitate to quote from an earlier work of his own an example of woolliness (p. 362). There is a good discussion of the special language of sports. Professor W. Cabell Greet, of Columbia University, has added, in double brackets, many admirable comments on American usage. This is the best book of its kind the reviewer has seen.

TWENTIETH CENTURY AUTHORS: *A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Literature.* Edited by Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft. Complete in One Volume with 1850 Biographies and 1700 Illustrations. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1942. viii, 1577 pp. $8.50.

This book supersedes two books now out of print: Mr. Kunitz's *Living Authors* (1931), published over the pseudonym Dilly Tante, and Messrs. Kunitz and Haycraft's *Authors Today and Yesterday* (1933). The new volume includes more than twice as many biographical sketches as the two old volumes combined. The new material includes sketches of a number of foreign writers, included on the basis of "the degree of acceptance of their translated works in the United States and England." Primary emphasis is properly laid upon writers of belles lettres. Every living author was invited to write his own sketch, and many of them accepted. The sketches include a listing of each writer's principal works and of selected critical materials. For public libraries, college libraries, and students of twentieth-century literature, this is an indispensable book.

J. B. H.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), Chester T. Hallenbeck (Queens College), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), Ernest L. Marchand (Stanford University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Case School of Applied Science), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), C. Doren Tharp (University of Miami), Frederick B. Tolles (Swarthmore College), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the March, 1943, issue of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the Committee, Lewis Leary, Duke University, Durham, N. C.

I. 1609-1800

[ALSOP, RICHARD] Zunder, Theodore A. "A Few New Facts Surrounding Richard Alsop's Death." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 101 (Oct., 1942).

An obituary in the New York *Evening Post,* August 21, 1815, informs us that Alsop died in the night of "gout in the stomach."

[DICKINSON, JONATHAN] Andrews, Charles M. "God's Protecting Providence: A Journal of Jonathan Dickinson." *Fla. Hist. Quar.,* XXI, 107-126 (Oct., 1942).

[FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Boyd, Julian P. "Dr. Franklin: Friend of the Indians." *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCXXXIV, 311-330 (Oct., 1942).

Cohen, I. Bernard. "Benjamin Franklin and Aeronautics." *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCXXXII, 101-128 (Aug., 1941).

Millikan, Robert A. "Benjamin Franklin as a Scientist." *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCXXXII, 407-423 (Nov., 1941).

With a critical appendix by I. Bernard Cohen.

Van Doren, Carl. "Concluding Paper" [in "Meet Dr. Franklin" series]. *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCXXXIV, 415-429 (Nov., 1942).

Desiderata in, and recent contributions to, Franklin studies.

———. "Meet Dr. Franklin." *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCXXXII, 509-518 (Dec., 1941).

Woodward, Carl R. "Benjamin Franklin: Adventure in Agriculture." *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCXXXIV, 207-228 (Sept., 1942).

Wroth, Lawrence C. "Benjamin Franklin: The Printer at Work." *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.,* CCXXXIV, 105-132 (Aug., 1942).

[GODFREY, THOMAS] George, Dorothy. "More Evidence on an Early Theatrical Withdrawal." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 100-101 (Oct., 1942).

An article in the *London Magazine,* December, 1826, corroborates Dunlap's statement that *The Prince of Parthia* was not acted in Philadelphia in 1767.

[HOPKINSON, FRANCIS] Gegenheimer, Albert Frank. "An Unpublished Letter of Francis Hopkinson to George Washington." *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 308-310 (Nov., 1942).

Dated December 1, 1788, and apparently sent to Washington with a copy of Hopkinson's *Seven Songs.*

[LADD, JOSEPH BROWN] Leary, Lewis. "A Forgotten Charleston Poet: Joseph Brown Ladd, 1764-1786." *Americana,* XXXVI, 571-588 (Oct., 1942).

During the first decade after the American Revolution there was probably no American poet more popular than young Dr. Ladd.

———. "Joseph Brown Ladd of Charleston, 1764-1786." *So. Atlantic Bul.,* VIII, 304 (Dec., 1942).

Obituaries of the popular young poet were fulsome and widespread.

———. "Ossian in America: A Note." *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 305-306 (Nov., 1942).

Ladd in 1785 published the first versified adaptation of Ossian in America.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Cooper, Harold. "John Donne and Virginia in 1610." *Mod. Lang. Notes,* LVII, 661-663 (Dec., 1942).

The poet's attempt to obtain a post in Virginia indicates something of his troubled state of mind in 1610.

Morse, Jarvis M. "Colonial Historians of New York." *N. Y. Hist.,* XXIII, 395-409 (Nov., 1942).

Early Dutch narratives and the work of Daniel Horsmanden, Cadwallader Colden, and William Smith.

Pearce, Thomas M. "American Traditions and Our Histories of Literature." *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 276-284 (Nov., 1942).

American literary origins found in Indian material.

II. 1800-1870

[BROWNE, CHARLES FARRAR] Clemens, Cyril. "A Convert Humorist." *America,* LXVII, 689-690 (Sept. 26, 1942).

The career and conversion of "Artemus Ward."

[BRYANT, WILLIAM CULLEN] Hubbell, Jay B. "A New Letter by William Cullen Bryant." *Ga. Hist. Quar.,* XXVI, 288-290 (Sept.-Dec., 1942).

To Israel Keech Tefft of Savannah, April 27, 1849.

[CALVERT, G. H.] Hagge, C. W. "G. H. Calvert's Translations from the German." *Mod. Lang. Notes,* LVII, 283-284 (April, 1942).

Identification of translations by Calvert not previously listed.

[DEFOREST, J. W.] McIntyre, Clara F. "J. W. DeForest, Pioneer Realist." *Univ. of Wyoming Pubs.,* IX, 1-13 (Aug. 31, 1942).

Discusses *Witching Times* (1856), *Miss Ravenel's Conversion* (1867), and *Kate Beaumont* (1871): considers the last the author's best work.

[FISHER, HENRY LEE] Allen, George. "Two Pennsylvania-Dutch Poets (Part II): Henry Lee Fisher." *Amer.-Ger. Rev.,* IX, 10-13 (Oct., 1942).

Concluded.

[FULLER, MARGARET] Madison, Charles A. "Margaret Fuller: Transcendental Rebel." *Antioch Rev.,* II, 422-438 (Fall, 1942).

The many-sided interests, the remarkable personality of Margaret Fuller help to secure her prominent position in social and literary history.

[GARRISON, W. L.] Villard, Oswald Garrison. "Gandhi's New England Background." *Common Sense,* XI, 332-333 (Oct., 1942).

Gandhi's indebtedness to optimistic William Lloyd Garrison, to the Rev. Adin Ballou, and to Thoreau.

[HOLMES, O. W.] Russell, J. Almus. "Oliver Wendell Holmes—Dartmouth Professor." *Dartmouth Alumni Mag.,* XXXIII, 20, 88 (Dec., 1941).

[LONGFELLOW, H. W.] Englekirk, John E. "Notes on Longfellow in Spanish America." *Hispania,* XXV, 295-308 (Oct., 1942).

Longfellow's vogue in Latin America between 1870 and 1900; though rapidly losing ground to Poe (and Whitman), Longfellow still retains a substantial lead.

Russell, J. Almus. "Longfellow's Dartmouth Influence." *Dartmouth Alumni Mag.,* XXIX, 13-14 (March, 1937).

[LOWELL, J. R.] Altick, Richard D. "Was Lowell an Historical Critic?" *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 250-259 (Nov., 1942).

Lowell uses, though not consistently or with maximum effectiveness, the historical method in much of his criticism.

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] A. S. P. "Toward the Whole Evidence on Melville as a Lecturer." *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 111-112 (Oct., 1942).

Did Melville withdraw his lecture in New Haven, scheduled for December 30, 1857, because of local opinion in that city as evidenced in an editorial in the *Journal and Courier?*

Hart, James D. "A Note on Sherman Kent's 'Russian Christmas before the Mast.'" *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 294-298 (Nov., 1942).

Dana was not "irresponsible" in his use of factual data: "Perhaps the Russians in the near-by brig were celebrating Saint Nicholas Day" (December 18) rather than Christmas.

Thorp, Willard. "Did Melville Review *The Scarlet Letter?*" *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 302-305 (Nov., 1942).

The review in the *Literary World* often attributed to Melville was probably written by Evert A. Duyckinck.

[O'Brien, Fitz-James] Wolle, Francis. "Fitz-James O'Brien in Ireland and England, 1828-1851." *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 234-249 (Nov., 1942).

Investigation into the background of O'Brien shows him to have contributed to newspapers and magazines in Ireland at the age of seventeen and in London, where he went four years later—a total of sixty-eight periodical publications.

[Poe, E. A.] Culver, Francis B. "Lineage of Edgar Allan Poe and the Complex Pattern of the Family Genealogy." *Md. Hist. Mag.,* XXXVII, 420-422 (Dec., 1942).

Includes genealogical chart.

Hutcherson, Dudley R. "Poe's Reputation in England and America, 1850-1909." *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 211-233 (Nov., 1942).

Only after 1870 was moral criticism of Poe's life dissociated from criticism of his writings; from then until 1909 his reputation was in the main ascendant.

Mabbott, T. O. "Additions to 'A List of Poe's Tales.'" *Notes & Queries,* CLXXXIII, 163-164 (Sept. 12, 1942).

Additions, mainly of "unauthorized reprints," to John Cook Wyllie's "A List of the Texts of Poe's Tales" in *Humanistic Studies in Honour of John Calvin Metcalf.*

———. "The Writing of Poe's 'The Bells.'" *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 110 (Oct., 1942).

Redmond, Catherine. "Edgar Allan Poe—Soldier." *Quartermaster Rev.,* XVI, 18-21, 73-74 (Jan. and Feb., 1937).

Wilson, Edmund. "Poe as a Literary Critic." *Nation,* CLV, 452-453 (Oct. 31, 1942).

"His literary articles and lectures . . . constitute the most remarkable body of criticism ever produced in America."

[THOREAU, H. D.] Leisy, E. E. "Borrowing in 'Walden.'" *Amer. Notes & Queries,* II, 121 (Nov., 1942).

A query.

Pritchard, John Paul. "Cato in Concord." *Classical Weekly,* XXXVI, 3-4 (Oct. 5, 1942).

"When one has considered [the variety and extent of the borrowings from Cato in Thoreau's writings] . . . the feeling is strongly borne in upon him that Thoreau would not have gathered them without a purpose, and this design was the composition of an American De Re Rustica, which was to lean heavily on Cato the Censor."

[TICKNOR, GEORGE] Guillén, Jorge. "George Ticknor, Lover of Culture." *More Books,* XVII, 359-375 (Oct., 1942).

An appreciative essay on Ticknor by the eminent Spanish poet.

[WHITTIER, J. G.] Quynn, Dorothy M. and William R. "Barbara Frietschie." *Md. Hist. Mag.,* XXXVII, 227-254, 400-403 (Sept. and Dec., 1942).

A collection of all the evidence in the Barbara Frietschie controversy.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Bailey, J. O. "An Early American Utopian Fiction." *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 285-293 (Nov., 1942).

"Captain Adam Seaborn's" *Symzonia,* 1820, is not, as commonly stated, a burlesque, but "an earnestly written novel of adventure," moralistic and reformatory in purpose.

Booth, Bradford A. "Taste in the Annuals." *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 299-302 (Nov., 1942).

". . . in the annuals writers of established reputation were in a lonesome minority, for editors knew that . . . Bryant and Longfellow were too many cuts above the audiences for which their books were designed."

Cardwell, Guy A., Jr. "A Newly-Discovered Charleston Periodical." *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 306-308 (Nov., 1942).

The *Charleston Spectator, and Ladies Literary Port Folio,* 1806.

Cowie, Alexander. "The Vogue of the Domestic Novel." *So. Atlantic Quar.,* XLI, 416-424 (Oct., 1942).

The domestic novel of the midnineteenth century was a social as well as a literary phenomenon.

Mott, Frank Luther. "Facetious News Writing, 1833-1883." *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* XXIX, 35-54 (June, 1942).

Caricature, humor, and hoax in nineteenth-century American journalism.

Rush, Orwin N. "Maine's First Circulating Library." *Bul. Maine Libr. Assoc.,* III, 13-14 (Aug., 1942).

A brief account of the Waterville Circulating Library, established in 1826 with a stock of seven hundred volumes.

Weiss, Harry B. "Samuel Wood & Sons, Early New York Publishers of Children's Books." *Bul. of the N. Y. Pub. Libr.,* XLVI, 755-771 (Sept., 1942).

Includes a preliminary check-list of books published between 1806 and 1821.

Zylstra, Henry. "Mid-Nineteenth Century Dutch View of American Life and Letters." *PMLA,* LVII, 1108-1136 (Dec., 1942).

A study of the sympathetic criticism by Everhardus Jan Potgieber.

III. 1870-1900

[CLEMENS, S. L.] Flack, Frank Morgan. "Mark Twain and Music." *Twainian,* II, 1-3 (Oct., 1942).

Tidwell, James Nathan. "Mark Twain's Representation of Negro Speech." *Amer. Speech,* XVII, 174-176 (Oct., 1942).

Clemens was both sincere and competent in representation of the colloquial dialect of Nigger Jim.

[HAYNE, P. H.] McKeithan, Daniel Morley. "A Correspondence Journal of Paul Hamilton Hayne." *Ga. Hist. Quar.,* XXVII, 249-272 (Sept.-Dec., 1942).

A record of personal and business correspondence from February 23, 1880, to December 29, 1882, including mention of poems and critiques sent to editors, of poems accepted, and of payment received.

[HOWARD, BRONSON] Marshall, Thomas F. "Performances of Bronson Howard's *The Amateur Benefit.*" *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 311-312 (Nov., 1942).

First produced in 1882, in Brooklyn and Philadelphia as *Faun of the Glen,* in New York as *Fun in a Green Room.*

[HOWELLS, W. D.] Arms, George. "The Literary Background of Howells's Social Criticism." *Amer. Lit.,* XIV, 260-276 (Nov., 1942).

Beside the pervasive influence of the social philosophy of Laurence Gronlund are placed the literary influences of the *Atlantic* and its coterie and the work of Björnstjerne Björnson.

Kirk, Rudolf and Clara. "'Poems of Two Friends.'" *Jour. of the Rutgers Univ. Libr.,* IV, 33-44 (June, 1941).

New light, including two hitherto unpublished Howells letters, on the genesis of the volume.

[James, William] Buchler, Justus. "The Philosopher, the Common Man and William James." *Amer. Scholar,* XI, 416-426 (Autumn, 1942).

"As a symbol of ideas peculiarly American James has been portrayed too much in biographical and too little in philosophical terms."

[Johnston, Mary] Sherman, Caroline B. "The Rediscovery of Mary Johnston (1870-1936)." *So. Lit. Mess.,* IV, 431-432 (Sept., 1942).

[Whitman, Walt] Bradley, Sculley. "Walt Whitman, Poet of the Present War." *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.,* XLV, 7-14 (Oct., 1942).

A paper read at the opening of the Whitman Exhibition, University of Pennsylvania, May 8, 1942.

Hume, Robert A. "Wine with Walt." *So. Atlantic Quar.,* XLI, 437-440 (Oct., 1942).

Young Edwin H. Woodruff visits Camden, discusses literature, and shares with Whitman and another friend a small bottle of wine.

Mabbott, Thomas O., and Silver, Rollo G. "Walt Whitman and the *Brooklyn Freeman.*" *Notes & Queries,* CLXXXIII, 186-187 (Sept. 26, 1942).

Two items of information about the *Freeman* and its editor.

Randall, H. F. "Whitman and Verhaeren—Priests of Human Brotherhood." *French Rev.,* XVI, 36-43 (Oct., 1942).

In the French-Flemish poet there is the "same joyous belief in human nature and in the future of the human race" as in Whitman.

[Miscellaneous] Jones, Malcolm Bancroft. "Two American Zola Forgeries." *French Rev.,* XVI, 24-28 (Oct., 1942).

In 1884 and 1895.

McAneny, Herbert. "Some Notes on Princeton Amusements, Civil War to 1887." *Princeton Univ. Libr. Chron.,* IV, 10-29 (Nov., 1942).

Including local theatrical performances.

IV. 1900-1943

[Anderson, Maxwell] Anon. "Maxwell Anderson." *Current Biog.,* III, 1-4 (Nov., 1942).

Biography, with bibliographical references.

[Brooks, Van Wyck] Smith, Bernard. "Van Wyck Brooks." *Coll. Engl.,* IV, 93-99 (Nov., 1942).

Few critics have so honestly drawn up a testament of values: three significant principles may be found in Brooks's critical work—that great literature is a social expression with an idealistic aim, that men must live collectively if they are to live fully, and that America has evolved ways of living, thinking, and writing which are unique and precious.

[FROST, ROBERT] Saul, George Brandon. "Brief Observations on Frost and Stephens." *News Letter of the Coll. Engl. Assoc.*, IV, 6 (Oct., 1942).

[GLASGOW, ELLEN] Stone, Grace. "Ellen Glasgow's Novels." *Sewanee Rev.*, L, 289-300 (July-Sept., 1942).

A survey.

[JEFFERS, ROBINSON] Gates, George G. "The Bread That Every Man Must Eat Alone." *Coll. Engl.*, IV, 170-174 (Dec., 1942).

Jeffers's point of view, regardless of any question of its validity, is now being voiced by those who sense deep worldly wrongs.

[KILMER, JOYCE] Faherty, W. B. "Wisconsin's Kilmer Memorial." *Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, XXVI, 61-71 (Sept., 1942).

The Joyce Kilmer Library of Campion High School, Prairie du Chien.

[O'NEILL, EUGENE] Battenhouse, Roy W. "'Mourning Becomes Electra.'" *Christendom*, VII, 332-345 (Summer, 1942).

Behind O'Neill's drama lies the Christian concept of Original Sin.

[POUND, EZRA] Anon. "Ezra (Loomis) Pound." *Current Biog.*, III, 62-65 (Nov., 1942).

Good bibliographical references.

[ROURKE, CONSTANCE] Marshall, Margaret. "Constance Rourke in the Critics' Den." *Nation*, CLV, 418-420 (Oct. 24, 1942).

Miss Rourke has not been appreciated.

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Collins, Thomas Lyle. "Thomas Wolfe." *Sewanee Rev.*, L, 487-504 (Oct.-Dec., 1942).

Wolfe's faults are flaws of greatness, not limitations of talent.

Kussy, Bella. "The Vitalist Trend and Thomas Wolfe." *Sewanee Rev.*, L, 306-323 (July-Sept., 1942).

Ignorant of world currents, Wolfe nevertheless became the voice of the undirected in his generation in America.

[MISCELLANEOUS] Miles, William. "Nantucket Folk Theatre." *Theatre Arts*, 793 (Dec., 1942).

Sanders, Charles Richard. "South Atlantic Quarterly: The First Forty Years." *So. Atlantic Bul.*, VIII, 1, 12-13 (Dec., 1942).

An historical survey.

Bockstahler, Oscar L. "Contributions to American Literature by Hoosiers of German Ancestry." *Indiana Mag. of Hist.*, XXXVIII, 231-250 (Sept., 1942).

Includes discussion of Maurice Thompson, William Vaughn Moody, John Hay, Gene Stratton-Porter, Theodore Dreiser, and Bertita von Lemarz Harding.

V. GENERAL

Chase, Frederick. "The Intellectuals' Black Beast." *Sewanee Rev.*, L, 349-356 (July-Sept., 1942).

The intellectual versus the middle class.

Deats, Ruth Z. "Poetry for the Populace: Trends in Poetic Thought in American Popular Magazines." *Sewanee Rev.*, L, 374-388 (July-Sept., 1942).

Deutsch, Babette. "The Poet and the War." *New Republic,* CVII, 741-743 (Dec. 7, 1942).

Hatcher, Harlan. "A Scene of Confusion." *Coll. Engl.*, IV, 153-159 (Dec., 1942).

Contemporary literature is "not golden with assurance but leaden with uncertainty."

Jordy, William H. "The Slicks Are Scared." *Common Sense,* XI, 408-410 (Dec., 1942).

"None of them is courageous enough to tell the facts."

Kazin, Alfred. "Criticism at the Poles." *New Republic,* CVII, 492-495 (Oct. 19, 1942).

Mainly on the "decadent" and "isolated" school of John Crowe Ransome.

———. "Nearer My Land to Thee." *New Republic,* CVII, 460-463 (Oct. 12, 1942).

Prose literature since 1930.

Marchman, Watt. "Florida Bibliography, 1941." *Tequesta,* I, 65-70 (Aug., 1942).

Meyer, George Wilbur. "The Original Social Purpose of the Naturalistic Novel." *Sewanee Rev.*, L, 563-579 (Oct.-Dec., 1942).

Social purpose is forgotten more by modern critics of naturalism than by modern naturalistic novelists.

Miller, Benjamin. "Mythological Naturalism." *Jour. of Rel.*, XXII, 270-287 (July, 1942).

"It is the purpose of these remarks to suggest the direction in which naturalism must move if it is to prepare the ground for a post-scientific era."

Rahv, Philip. "On the Decline of Naturalism." *Partisan Rev.*, IX, 483-493 (Nov.-Dec., 1942).

"What was once a means of treating material truthfully has been turned, through a process of depreciation, into a mere convention of truthfulness, devoid of any significance or even clearly definable literary purpose or design."

Smith, A. J. M. "'Our Poets': A Sketch of Canadian Poetry in the Nineteenth Century." *Univ. of Toronto Quar.,* XII, 75-94 (Oct., 1942).

From Oliver Goldsmith to Mr. E. J. Pratt.

Stegner, Wallace. "Is the Novel Done For?" *Harper's Mag.,* CXXVI, 76-83 (Dec., 1942).

When novelists stop reporting long enough to observe that perhaps America is dominated by people and not by forces, they will probably discover that America is no worse than other societies the world has produced; then their quarrels with the social order may become only "family squabbles" and this reconciliation of the writers with the world may bring forth in America a literature that is foresighted, strong, and positive.

Yutang, Lin. "When East Meets West." *Atlantic Mo.,* CLXX, 43-48 (Dec., 1942).

In reviewing the breaking up of the nineteenth-century political world and in urging that a new world be forged out of the elements of Anglo-Saxon, Russian, and Oriental cultures, the author gives consideration to the Chinese qualities of Emerson, Whitman, and Thoreau.

24-3-62